

THE SECOND CENTURY OF SETTLEMENT
IN SPANISH ST. AUGUSTINE, 1670-1763

By
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This dissertation is dedicated to my children:

Christopher, Amanda, Robert

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Residents of Spanish Florida and its capital, St. Augustine, conducted their lives guided and constrained by the strong social institutions of the Roman Catholic Church and the army. The primacy of church and state has overshadowed the private lives of the residents in the historical literature of colonial Florida as it did in the colonial era itself. This study relies on information written or provided by the individuals themselves, rather than by officials or churchmen, to describe the personal and private aspects of life. As a counterpoise to scholarly emphasis upon minority or peripheral citizens, this study focuses primarily on ordinary, white (Euro-American) colonists and assimilated non-whites. It examines the topics of assimilation, property ownership, private buildings, personal possessions,

interpersonal financial arrangements, and small-scale business activities, food, and parishioners' religious organizations.

After a century of permanent Spanish settlement in the southeast region of North America, English colonists established South Carolina in 1670. The Second Century of Settlement became an era of mutual enmity and alert for the residents of the southeast. Native American groups simultaneously faced more pressures and also benefitted from new leverage with the advent of South Carolina. Spain delivered new fighting men, who brought their various Iberian regional cultures into Florida and to its generations of American-born residents.

This dissertation adds to the study of the role of European regional donor cultures upon the development of regional cultures in the New World. Scholars have viewed the cultural differences within Spanish Florida through the wider, more overt lens of race; the transplantation of Iberian cultural diversity has hardly played a role in analysis. Florida's difference from North American Anglo colonies lay as well in its service-based, cash economy of the military regime rather than in an export-based agricultural economy.

This study presents Spanish Florida as an essential element of the history of the colonial southeast. It depicts changes in everyday life brought about in the Second Century by the permanent proximity of an enemy, the introduction of new regional cultures, and the expansion in the Atlantic world of goods and commerce.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

It would be greatly inconvenient
if anyone else might settle in Florida.

—Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, 1565

The history of the colonial southeast differs from that of the rest of eastern North America.¹ Typically, histories of the colonial period reduce the Spanish presence in the continent to merely an extension of the original conquistadors' adventures. The presence of the Spanish appears as a transitory activity in the southeastern region, with colorful mention of ill-fated explorers followed by a sentence or two noting the founding of St. Augustine and the colony of Florida in 1565. Whether survey texts or monographs, these histories give few words and little importance to Spanish settlements that lasted continuously for two years short of two centuries, from 1565 to 1763. In fact, permanent Spanish presence in the southeast had achieved the century mark by the date when English settlers initiated their colony of South Carolina in the region in 1670.

A dismissive and overly succinct treatment of the Spanish presence diminishes the complexity of relationships in the region, and developments in the English settlements thus seem to take place in a splendid isolation rather

than in the international environment which was indeed the colonial reality.² Not only is Spanish activity almost unseen historiographically, but without adequate consideration of Spanish activities, the Carolina colonial experience is thus less filled out than it should be. Florida is often portrayed as a block to English expansion to be overcome, but seldom is Florida's existence seen as shaping the development of Carolina itself, although Carolina's settlers did indeed incorporate adaptive measures by virtue of the Spanish presence.³

Historian Betty Wood credits Spanish Florida's presence as a major factor in the debate over use of slave labor at the time of the establishment of British Georgia in 1733. Georgia's founding trustees saw Spanish Florida in the 1730s as a runaway slave haven and as an incendiary force to foment slave revolts. Wood asserts that the trustees made the decision against slavery as much because of a pragmatic concern for the potential loss of capital invested in enslaved laborers and the dangers to settlers as they did because of any philosophical tenets about labor. By the middle of the 1740s the trustees' perception of a weakened Florida encouraged them to reconsider the original prohibition against slavery.⁴ Permanent French settlements on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, beginning in 1699, added to the complexities of colonial development in the entire region. Extant Spanish and English settlements now had to deal with the French as well as each other. Native Americans acquired another element to incorporate in their survival strategies as they played the European powers off against each

other. European and Native American diplomacy took on a multilateral perspective rather than the more nearly bilateral division prior to the French settlements.

Studies of Native Americans in the southeast have paid more attention to the multinational presence in the southeast than have those concerned with white or Euro-American settlement. Many recent historical and anthropological studies of Spanish Florida have focused on the lives of the Native Americans and the changes within native societies following contact with Europeans, while the white or European society has received little attention. Our own contemporary emphasis on diversity and upon eliciting the history of minorities has left us with a picture that is better developed for what today constitutes minorities (although the groups were often not numerical minorities during the period studied) than for that of colonial Euro-American society.⁵ Yet changes were always developing within white societies as well. The current focus on ethnic legacies among today's minorities has also turned the focus away from assimilation by non-whites into the dominant culture.

This study presents a description and interpretation of Spanish Florida as an essential element of the history of the colonial southeast. It depicts the changes and practices which developed in or were introduced into Florida following the arrival of the English and which were responses to the English presence. Without Florida's existence, South Carolina would have developed in a different manner. Without South Carolina's inception, Florida likewise

would have been different. Both colonies evidenced their mutual fear of the other by erecting defensive walls around their capitals. Carolinians had begun construction of Charleston's wall by 1697. Floridians tarried until 1706, adding their wall as they rebuilt St. Augustine after Carolinians had burned the Spanish town in 1702.⁶

An enlarged and elaborated portrayal of Florida's society provides a lens for viewing other contemporary colonial societies and locales as well as for increasing the knowledge base and understanding of the Spanish colony itself. A depiction of the society in Florida which developed in ways which were different from other areas of both British America and Spanish America fosters new questions about those other areas in the context of alternative colonial developments. Florida's differences did not just lie in its Iberian roots, but also in the fact that it did not become a colony with an export-based, agricultural economy despite founders' plans and hopes. The roles of work and labor, real and personal property, developed within the context of Florida's economic base, wherein these assets served a different function than in an agricultural economy. Florida also developed from and within in a seminal European-based culture which was different than many other areas. The course of Spanish Florida offers historians the opportunity to examine a service-based, cash economy as a comparison to the more nearly self-sufficient, agricultural societies in British America and other areas of Spanish and also French America.

Periodization

This study seeks to describe the society that developed in the southeast in the context of regional realities. Thus its temporal boundaries match local or regional changes rather than those originating in Europe. Employing the date of 1670 as a point of beginning recognizes the changes wrought by the arrival of the English and permits the ease of using a common temporal point for analysis of activities in both the English and Spanish spheres.⁷

Spanish Florida's longevity in the region and on the continent is clearly illustrated when we recall that children who had been founders of the Florida colony in 1565 were themselves grandparents and great-grandparents when English settlers stepped ashore at Jamestown and Plymouth in the early 1600s.⁸ Seldom are the Englishmen's planting of South Carolina in 1670 and its development portrayed in the context of that English colony's proximity to the existing Spanish colony and the latter's already established influence in the southeast. Yet, Carolinians concerned themselves with threats and attacks from the Spanish in Florida as well as from Native Americans. The defenses of both St. Augustine and Charleston revealed that each prepared to fend off a European enemy fighting in the European style. In both towns, fortifications and entrenchments resembled simplified versions of European defenses.

Florida's Iberian founders intended for the colony to be a profitable enterprise. Instead, the Spanish monarch had to assume financial responsibility for the viability of the Florida colony in 1571. A century later, the Spanish crown had to respond vigorously to fend off threats to the realm throughout Spanish America.⁹ In the middle of the seventeenth century the crown increased its concern and thereafter its attention and funding to the vulnerable areas. Royal decrees allocated monies to finance physical improvements and additions to fortifications and relocated fighting men to the besieged or vital areas.

It was the founding of the English colony of South Carolina in 1670 that especially menaced Spanish Florida. Defensive remedies of additional money and men sent by the Spanish crown impelled the lives of the ordinary colonists to take a new direction in the second century of Spanish settlement. Florida's white residents, especially the American-born (criollos) colonists, became more oriented toward Iberia, toward the metropolis, with the influx of men from the homeland (peninsulares) and the new men's enlarged influence. Arriving white colonists, who were mostly male, Native Americans, and residents of African descent, found new roles offered to them within the reinvigorated defense structure. For subordinated groups, the new roles translated into greater access to goods and enlarged relationships with members of the dominant society, that is the society of persons of Iberian

descent. The defensive actions brought about changes in the lives of the residents of all races and racial mixtures.

Many studies of Spanish Florida employ the beginning years of the eighteenth century as a defining point. For studies which focus on international politics or on imperial activities and policies, the year 1700 serves well. A new dynasty laid claim to the Spanish throne upon the death of Spain's childless Charles II and a subsequent war to decide the succession ensued. The Bourbon family, triumphant in its grasp for the throne, brought changes in Spain's imperial policies and introduced amity with France by virtue of close kinship of the kings of the two nations.¹⁰

Crown decisions regarding Florida which resulted in the colony's reorientation toward the metropolis began, however, while a Hapsburg monarch still occupied the throne of Spain. The changes in direction for Spanish Florida predated the War of Spanish Succession and its accompanying destructions in Florida and predated Spanish colonial reforms initiated by the victorious Bourbon family although these events are usually invoked as the markers for periodization. The year 1702 has served as a distinctive marker for the analysis of architecture in Spanish Florida. While 1702 brought destruction of the buildings in St. Augustine and at the missions, in the capital the replacement buildings incorporated ideas that had already been introduced and were holdovers from before the conflagration.

In 1763 the transfer of Florida to Great Britain brought more than a change of sovereigns. The attendant departure of Spanish colonists sundered lives and regional patterns and marked the end of the Second Century of Settlement. The changes that began in the 1670s and continued until Florida's abrupt transfer to Great Britain validate the concept and periodization of "the second century of settlement"—a century characterized by persistent conflict, new men and their new traditions entering the colony, and the simultaneous expansion and growth of trade in the Atlantic world.

Regional Cultures

This study of the southeast fits with the recent emphasis on the role of European regional donor cultures upon regional development in the New World as well as adding an element to the larger transatlantic analysis. Invoking the idea of the influence of new (that is, arriving) European regional cultural factors in the Spanish southeast builds upon works by scholars seeking to explain the regional diversity which developed in Anglo America. Historians Bernard Bailyn, Jack P. Greene, and David Hackett Fischer and cultural geographer D. W. Meinig examine relationships between components brought from European donor regions and their manifestations in the American colonies. These scholars distill and assess the variations of multiple, but consistent, elements that were transported and established by immigrating generations into different areas of North America. Meinig looks at

cause, citing Michael Kammer's remark that "colonials didn't come from Europe. They came from [regions.]" Focusing on effect, Bailyn asserts that "the colonies' strange ways were only distensions and combinations of elements that existed in the parent cultures." In the Americas these elements "were released, fulfilled—at times with strange results that could not have been anticipated."¹¹ Greene's finer focus looks at the transference of political and intellectual thought from England to America. He explains dissimilar developments among the various American regions and colonies as resulting from the particular state of ideas in the home islands at the time of the founding in the New World. Thus New England and South Carolina began as quite different colonies because of the different premises carried into each of these colonies at inception. In other words, they would have been different even if the natural environments were more alike.¹²

Fischer's use of the concept of cultural hearths and the sequential arrivals of their components at different times into different American regions is especially pertinent for the study of the Spanish southeast. Fischer maintains that the series of implantations fashioned differing characteristics within British America. Four discrete combinations of a particular region of the British Isles feeding immigrations which occurred at a particular period of time resulted in four identifiable cultures in the British colonies, which have persisted into the present.¹³ The four folkways Fischer discerns are: English Puritans to New England, 1629-41; cavaliers and indentured servants to the

Chesapeake, 1642-75; Quaker migration to the Delaware Valley, 1675-1725; British borderland inhabitants to the American backcountry, 1717-75.

In Florida too there was a sequence of immigration from Iberia, but unlike the British colonies, the later arrivals in Florida came into an already Europeanized area. Historians of Spanish Florida have paid little attention to the influence of immigrants arriving in the eighteenth century who came with cultural traditions which had developed in different regions than those of Florida's founders, who had arrived in the sixteenth century. Cultural differences within the Florida colony and among its residents have been viewed through the wider and more overt lens of race, especially Native American vis-à-vis European. The transplantation of the cultural diversity that existed within Iberia has played hardly a role. Theodore Corbitt's study of St. Augustine's population dealt with the size of the population and the birth and death rates, but was not concerned with the Iberian regional origins of immigrating persons. Kathleen Hoffman uses racial categories as the cultural categories. Thus persons of European ancestry were placed within a single category whether their origin was Iberian or Spanish American, with no discernment by regions.¹⁴

Spanish America displayed more colonial uniformity than Anglo America and that has lessened the questioning of the role of Iberian regional diversity within the former Spanish empire. The ubiquity of dogma, ritual, and accoutrements throughout the Roman Catholic Church made for religious

homogeneity throughout the Spanish world--in Europe, in the Americas, in Asia. The uniformity of the singular church eliminated one of the big dividers of humans in society. As Meinig observes, "Cultural diversity . . . is fundamentally either regional or religious in character."¹⁵ There was almost no diversity of the latter in Spanish America. A strong centralized colonial administration and empire-wide colonial legal codes likewise engendered homogeneity throughout Spanish colonies.¹⁶ In Spain, however, the geographical areas of the old kingdoms which were incorporated into the Spanish throne still retained many provincial traditions, privileges, and rights, making the metropolis culturally more heterogeneous than the colonies.¹⁷ Entry of new cultural elements into the areas where a creole society already existed in Florida meant that either the existing ways held fast and resisted the new or were supplanted, or both old and new were altered to accommodate each other.

Historiographical emphasis since the shift in the 1960s by the history profession toward an enlarged interest and concern for the ordinary, minority, and peripheral citizens¹⁸ has paid more attention to Native Americans and African Americans in Spanish Florida to remedy the negative or trivialized roles that those ethnic and racial groups held for so long. In the study of Spanish Florida, the practitioners of history and anthropology have worked well together in this endeavor.¹⁹ Life among mission Indians has received extensive scrutiny and analysis.²⁰ Jane Landers's investigation of black

society in Florida has focused attention on the lives of the previously unknown residents of African descent and their role in the geopolitical developments in the region.²¹ But, ordinary white (Euro-American) colonists, because they were part of the dominant culture, and non-whites who successfully assimilated have not received the same attention of late.

What if the words written, dictated, or in some aspect overseen by the Florida colonists themselves were to form the basis for the picture of their own lives in the Second Century? The image of the colonists has relied heavily on reports composed by military and ecclesiastical administrators. This study looks to documents which were either written by the colonists or were subject to their scrutiny, to their editing and then verification indicated by their signatures or their even more frequent "cross" marks. Some records, like the recording of the administering of sacraments, were not written by the participants, but the communicants supplied at least some of the details recorded by the priests.

In the highly institutionalized and formalized society of the colony of Florida what was life like for the ordinary resident? For the corporal, for the midwife, for the slave, for the mission Indian fulfilling a labor obligation? What changes took place in their lives? How did developments in the rest of the Atlantic world affect the ways in which the colonists organized themselves, protected their possessions, provided for their offspring? What were their relations with each other?

This study in no way attempts to diminish the primacy in Florida of the military and the church organizations and their leaders. That would be folly. The firm and often rigid framework of those institutions underlay the colony. Because of the presence of these strong institutions, Spanish Florida's early society was orderly, stable, and less contentious than those societies established later in southern English colonies. In contrast, Jack Greene describes the Chesapeake and the Carolinas as locales where "religion and other traditional institutions were weak, a sense of community tenuous, and cultural amenities almost non-existent." Thus the "potential for social discord was high."²²

But life was not all army and church. Florida's men did not spend all of their time on guard duty; parishioners and even priests did not spend all of their waking hours in prayer or at mass. Yet almost any depictions in communiques concerning the actions of ordinary folk were drawn to express the needs of the military or the church. The governor, his officials, priests, and friars composed and compiled the reports. Other views were offered by foreigners, visitors, and enemies. The remarks of this last group of observers revealed as much about the foreign writer as about the Spanish in Florida. And the ordinary people of Florida, most of them illiterate, generated few documents themselves. Spanish military historian Juan Marchena Fernández computed that 78 percent of his sample of enlisted men who served in Florida

between 1700 and 1763 could neither read nor write; 12 percent could write only their name (Marchena's study begins with the year 1700).²³

Most citizens appeared in non-narrative documents rather than in descriptive reports, and it is to those records that this study turns. When bits of this sort of information are combined, we can discern something of what historians Darrett and Anita Rutman called "the evolving web of associations" which existed among the colonial residents.²⁴ The content and form of the records changed over the time under consideration here. In subsequent decades and centuries, books became lost, and damage by humidity and hungry bugs and microbes has left literal holes in the data.

Documentary Sources

The departure of Spanish residents from the mainland meant the departure of the documentation of their lives as well. The emigration of 1763 was the first of several generated by treaty cessions. In 1784 British subjects departed as the Spanish returned to the peninsula; in 1821 Spain once again divested itself of Florida, this last time to the United States.

Departure of Florida's Spanish population upon British takeover of the peninsula in 1763 resulted in the removal of the documents created in Florida during the first two hundred years of European settlement. The Catholic Church's records of baptisms, confirmations, marriages, and burials for the first two centuries were removed to the cathedral in Havana, where they

remained unnoticed until 1871, when St. Augustine's then-bishop discovered them. Another thirty-five years passed before the parish records were returned to Florida.²⁵ Departing Spanish officials transferred the military and civil records, some of which went to the office of the exchequer in Havana.²⁶ Official correspondence by government, military, and church administrators remains in collections in Spain, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Mexico. Notaries and government secretaries in Spanish Florida often made multiple copies to be forwarded to various officials at several administrative centers in the empire. Florida officials sent copies of their correspondence via several ships and on subsequent sailings to improve the chance that the information would reach its destination in the face of possible loss to weather, water damage, or enemy capture.²⁷

Personal documents from Florida's first two centuries of European settlement are almost nonexistent or at least undiscovered. Evacuees in 1763 carried their important papers—deeds, wills, debt documents—with them among their furnishings and other possessions to their new homes in Cuba or Mexico. When Spanish subjects returned to Florida twenty-one years later in 1784, they complained that "ownership papers had been lost by virtue of the evacuation." Unlike the transported governmental documents, which were grouped and stored under official auspices, it is likely that the personal documents stayed with their owners and thus physically were dispersed. Given the refugee mode of life experienced by the evacuees, documents

often survived the relocations no better than did their owners, who died in substantial numbers in Cuba.²⁸ If available, the evacuees' personal papers would reveal individual-level decisions, although usually expressed in the hand and language of a notary rather than that of the subject.

On the other hand, the change of sovereignty created a need for inventories, maps, and other documentation that otherwise might not have been ordered and effected. In fact, Florida's several changes of flags generated documentation to clarify situations and establish land titles. The periods of departure and arrival of governments and residents offer clusters of information, which were not generated with the same intensity during more stable times. The content and form of the records change over time. One sort of information ceases to be recorded, only for some other concern to appear.

The records of the Roman Catholic Church provide the most nearly complete data on the individuals who resided in Spanish Florida. The parish records cover a long period of time and encompass all ages, races, occupations and social groups. The time span and inclusiveness make them an invaluable source.²⁹ The Church, not the state, recorded information which today is considered as vital-statistics data. Many times an entry in the parish records was the sole documentary evidence of an individual's existence in the world.

The St. Augustine parish registers have the distinction of being the oldest written records of American origin in the United States. There are continuous records from 1594 to 1763, except for a five-year hiatus between 1638 and 1643.³⁰ For some periods, the parish records offer only a minimum of information. For example, in the early 1600s marriage entries limited information about the bride and groom to their names only. In the 1720s and 1730s the recording of infant burials was often so succinct as to include only a reference to "a small child" and name of the father, no mother's name at all. In the eighteenth century, the Enlightenment appreciation and appetite for facts revealed itself in the expansion of church records, enlarged to include information about the parentage of marital partners, previous spouses, and sometimes occupations.

The records of marriages are available from 1594 forward, although the information contained in them varies over time. There is a gap in the records of baptisms from 1640 to 1670. Burial records likewise disappear in 1640 and do not resume until 1720.

The parish records of baptisms, marriages, and burials for the middle third of the eighteenth century offer a good deal about familial and fictive kinship.³¹ In the middle of the 1730s the parish records were enlarged to include information on the birthplaces of parents of baptismal candidates, information on nativity of marriage partners and their parents, and information on any previous marriages of the spouses. Sometimes information on

occupation or employment was included. Burial records provided information about the decedents' survivors and heirs, sometimes with notations concerning irregularities regarding burials or last rites. For example, entries specify when circumstances made burial impossible, such as drowning or death at the hands of the enemy and no corpse was retrieved. Many burial entries after 1735 mention wills made by the decedents and list the executors and the specific bequests which would benefit the Church's ritualistic needs and charitable goals. But the wills themselves which were referenced have not been located.

In 1735 parallel but separate sets of books for whites and non-whites (pardos y morenos y indios) were established. The books of non-whites recorded information on nativity and parentage, Native American or African tribe of origin, racial mixture, free or slave status, and listing of the owners of the enslaved.

Muster rolls of the military units provide a listing of men in service for many individual years. Muster rolls for the garrison also offer information regarding age, birthplace, parentage, physical infirmities, and annual salary. The rolls sometimes include all who were recipients of crown funds: civilian employees paid by the crown, such as interpreters or harbor pilots, clergy, soldiers' widows and orphans, convict laborers, and mission Indians. Like the parish registers, the information on the individuals increases in the middle of the eighteenth century. Musters in the 1670s and 1680s, in addition to listing

soldiers, concern themselves with the assignment of weapons. The repetition of "because he is a creole" or similar wording in the muster of 1683 May 27 reveals the elimination of many men for the garrison. In the 1690s, notations about disabilities—gouty, blind—replace the weapons as a concern. By the 1740s, ever more data states salaries and where individual soldiers were posted, such as in Apalache or at Fort Matanzas. The 1751 roster compiled by José Gelabert is very detailed. It lists age, date of enlistment, birthplace and father of the soldiers as well as annual pay. Civilian employees such as a surgeon, drummers, and pilots appear within the listing of soldiers. Dependents of deceased soldiers are cited with the amounts of their stipends. Clergy and their church or mission village assignments are included. Birthplace of convict laborers and the prisoners' locations—sick, at the quarry—are stated. Mission Indians are listed by village, age, and marital status. The musters do not constitute a discrete collection, but a series of similar listings of ordinary individuals which span the time period considered here and for the purposes of this study they can be seen as a specific kind of source. The original musters are located in the Archive of the Indies and were microfilmed for incorporation in the John B. Stetson Collection (described later).³²

The few testamentary and probate documents and a smattering of lists and inventories which were not generated by postmortem affairs found their way back to the North American mainland or to colonial archives in Spain.

While the fewest in number, these documents offer detailed information about the material life of the colonists. Fragmentary and scanty, their availability is extremely valuable in the void. Although the paucity of the documentation from probate papers precludes the ability to make observations about the representativeness of practices which the documents reveal, the papers do serve as a starting point from which to ask more questions and to make comparisons to other sources. These documents are located in the Stetson Collection and East Florida Papers Collection. The latter is the governmental archive of the second Spanish period (1784-1821), but it contains a few items which were generated in the earlier Spanish period.

Notary records of the first two centuries either have not survived or also await discovery. In the absence of the books wherein the notaries recorded sales of lands and slaves, contractual agreements and wills, the few documents of this sort contained in the Spanish Land Grants Manuscript Collection must serve. This collection is primarily a source for activities of second Spanish period, but the Section for Claims for Town Lots holds unexpected material generated in the first Spanish era.

When Florida was returned to Spain by Great Britain in 1784, some of the evacuees of 1763, their offspring, or other relatives sailed to Florida intending to reside on former family lands. Inside the desks, chests, and trunks loaded on the departing ships in 1763 the townspeople had placed their personal documents. Now the evacuees or their representatives submitted

certified copies of documents that had been transported to Cuba, usually deeds or wills, in order to support their claims to the abandoned property.³³ For the two decades of Spanish absence and of British ownership, British colonists had perforce occupied, purchased, and improved the former Spanish sites. While a number of British-era residents chose to stay under Spanish rule after 1784, others opted to leave and receive some compensation through sale of property to incoming Spanish subjects. Conflicting claims arose in this situation, of course, and in cases where there were not valid claimants, the Spanish crown intended to benefit from the sale of ownerless property. The documents are conserved in the Claims for Town Lots section of the Spanish Land Grants collection at the Division of Historical Resources in Tallahassee.

For years these documents were valued as substantiation of property ownership, which was the intent when presented, but the papers, in fact, mention a lot more. A few other similar claims became part of the East Florida Papers Manuscript Collection, now at the Library of Congress. The documentation arising from property claims should be considered a highly biased source as only those families with reason to return to Florida after 1784 were included, unlike records such as notary books which would include property transactions across the population. Given the original intent, historians look to the Claims for Town Lots for information on property ownership and perhaps descriptions of buildings. This collection has never been consulted as a source for other evidence, which was merely incidental at

the time of the claims, but which in fact provides information on aspects of individuals' lives in Florida, almost impossible to investigate in the absence of the notarial records. As claimants submitted wills and sworn statements which justified ownership of abandoned real property, they also described all sorts of personal property, financial arrangements among individuals, relations with slaves, and the use of specific rooms within houses.

The John B. Stetson Collection is the premier source for the study of first Spanish period with its copies of official correspondence between Florida, Cuba, and Spain that span the entire period. It provides the documentation that constitutes a chronology of the events in the Spanish colony and in the region. The documents were selected in the 1920s from the holdings at the Archive of the Indies in Seville, photographed, and subsequently microfilmed. Especially useful for this study, in addition to the official perspective, are petitions, testimony and affidavits made by lower-ranking soldiers and civilians and incorporated into official communiques.³⁴ Numerous archival bundles in the Archive of the Indies which concern Spanish Florida have been microfilmed in their entirety and are available on microfilm in addition to the Stetson Collection at the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida.

The lives of the ordinary residents can be partially reconstructed by combining the information from several of the sources mentioned above. Seldom will a single source provide a good picture. In combination, these

documents permit the examination of what concerned ordinary residents. The documents offer information and insight into the decisions and behavior of individuals and their interaction with kin, friends, associates, sponsors, and superiors. Sometimes we can pursue questions that interest us, but with which the colonial residents were probably not consciously concerned. The data offer the possibility to see changes in personal behavior in response to the larger political, social, and material world and also see the individual lives as components of the aggregate behaviors that propelled the larger changes—forces which in turn pressed the lives of the colonists into ever-changing patterns.

Notes

1. This is a slightly altered restatement of Joel Evans's contention. Evans also includes in his assessment of Spanish influence the passive and unwitting introduction of disease and the resulting demographic collapse and greatly diminished Native American populations with which Europeans might have to contend. "Southeastern Indians and the English Trade in Skins and Slaves," in Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, eds., The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 305.
2. It is not intended to present here a broad critique of current survey texts, but to give representative examples. Although Philip Jenkins sets forth his temporal focus as 1492-1765, he in fact limits it to the earliest years, reducing Spanish presence to the "wonder of the conquistadors," in A History of the United States (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 7. Maldwyn A. Jones observes that "apart from leaving a fort at St. Augustine, Florida a number of missions in the southwest, Spain turned her back on America north of the Rio Grande in the late sixteenth century though without relinquishing her claims there." Limits of Liberty: American History, 1607-1992, 2nd ed., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 4. Similar presentations appear in Virginia Bernhard, David Bruner, Elizabeth-Fox Genovese, John McClymer, Firsthand

America: A History of the United States, 3rd ed., (St. James, NY: Brandywine Press, 1993), 11-14, even though it claimed to be more inclusive than previous texts.

3. Robert M. Weir continues the interpretation and portrayal of Spanish Florida as a barrier in Colonial South Carolina: A History (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), 42, 52, 82. . Weir's role for Florida as part of the "prologue" to South Carolina's settlement perpetuates the exclusion of the Spanish colony's continued function in the development of the region. Weir includes the most recent material on Florida in his bibliographic essay (395-96) with emphasis on the contact period in the sixteenth-century, but not upon the Spanish colony as an on-going factor.

4. Betty Wood, Slavery in Colonial Georgia, 1733-1775 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984), 8-9.

5. In the colonial context the terms "dominant" and "subordinated" better reflect the colonial situation than "majority" and "minority." Peter H. Wood's term, "black majority," to describe colonial South Carolina is a good example where the majority was not the dominant group. Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 to the Stono Rebellion (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974).

6. [n.a.], "The Walled City," in Carter L. Hudgins, Carl R. Lounsbury, Louis P. Nelson, Jonathan H. Poston, eds., The Vernacular Architecture of Charleston and the Lowcountry, 1670-1990: A Field Guide, 24-25.

7. The use of regional activities as the basis for periodization appears in historian Michael V. Gannon's The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965) wherein he invokes 1675, "the finest hour of the missionary movement," (66) as a turning point in the Spanish mission system in the region rather than looking to the destructions of 1702 and 1704, which were major events, but still part of the downward path rather than the end (Ch. 5). Gannon continues the use of the regional reality with chapter 6, whose periodization (1768-1790) reflects the break in the presence of clergy of the Catholic Church in Florida rather than using the political change, from a Spanish colony to a British colony, as a marker.

8. "By the time the Pilgrims came ashore at Plymouth, St. Augustine was up for urban renewal." Michael Gannon, Florida: A Short History (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 4.

9. Engel Sluiter, The Florida Situado: Quantifying the First Eighty Years, 1571-1651 (Gainesville: University of Florida Libraries, 1985), 1.
10. John Jay TePaske, The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700-1763 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1964); Amy Turner Bushnell, The King's Coffin: Proprietors of the Spanish Florida Treasury, 1565-1702 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1981).
11. Bernard Bailyn, The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), quote on 122; David Hackett Fischer, Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); D. W. Meinig, The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Vol. I, Atlantic America, 1492-1800 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), quote on 80.
12. Jack P. Greene, Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).
13. Fischer, Albion's Seed, 6-7. Extending his argument into modern times, for example, Fischer claims that "each American culture had its own motives for supporting [World War II]" and attributes the different style of the top-ranking U.S. military commanders to regional differences, 877-80.
14. Theodore G. Corbitt, "Population Structure of Hispanic St. Augustine, 1763," Florida Historical Quarterly, 54 (1976): 263-84; Kathleen Hoffman, "Cultural Development in La Florida," in Donna L. Ruhl and Kathleen Hoffman, eds., Diversity and Social Identity Colonial Spanish America: Native American, African and Hispanic Communities During the Middle Period, Historical Archaeology 31 (1997): 24-35.
15. Meinig, Atlantic America, 80. Meinig offers a framework composed of three sequential, developmental periods and eleven cultural regions for North America and the West Indies. With this framework, he describes how Europeans established their dominance in America and how that dominance reshaped the American world. Meinig separates the sequential framework into "seafaring," "conquering," and "planting" periods. The last, which encompasses the eighteenth century, he divides into two phases: "implantation" and "reorganization." In the "implantation" phase major production districts and cultural areas were formed. During the "reorganization" phase, metropolitan authorities attempted to bring these New World offshoots under tighter central control. His criteria for identifying a cultural region largely being homogeneity of the population, Meinig identifies Greater New England, the St. Lawrence River valley, Hudson's Bay, the

Hudson River valley, Pennsylvania, Greater Virginia, the Tropical Islands, the Carolinas, Florida, Louisiana, and Texas and the Lower Rio Grande valley.

Meinig addresses the concept of "reorganization" as a situation molded by external political demands and gives little weight to internal regional cultural or economic factors.

16. José María Ots y Capdequí, Historia del derecho español in América y del derecho indiano (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1945), 3.

17. Ann M. Pescatello, Power and Pawn: The Female in Iberian Families, Society, and Culture. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976), Ch. 1.

18. There is a plethora of discussions of the evolution of the field of social history. For a brief overview of its roots, methods and content, see Alice Kessler-Harris, "Social History," in Eric Foner, ed., The New American History (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 163-84.

19. See Michael Gannon, "The New Alliance of History and Archaeology in the Eastern Spanish Borderlands," William and Mary Quarterly 49, 3rd ser. (1992): 321-44 for a discussion of interdisciplinary projects.

20. David Hurst Thomas, ed., Columbian Consequences: Impact of Hispanic Colonization in the Southeast and Caribbean (Washington, D C: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), includes essays by most of the mission researchers and mission sites. Jerald T. Milanich, Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995); John H. Hann, A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996); *idem*, Apalachee: The Land Between the Rivers (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1988); *idem* and Bonnie G. McEwan, The Apalachee Indians and Mission San Luis (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998) deals with interactions among the Native Americans and the Spanish. Hudson and Tesser, eds., The Forgotten Centuries and Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, eds., Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1989) survey the Native Americans in the southeast.

21. Jane Landers, "Black Society in Spanish St. Augustine," Ph.D. diss. (University of Florida, 1988); *idem*, "Traditions of African American Freedom and Community in Colonial Spanish Florida," in David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers, eds., The African American Heritage of Florida (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), 19-41; "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose: A Free Black Town in Spanish Colonial Florida." American Historical Review 95 (1990):9-30.

22. Greene, Pursuits of Happiness, 12-13.

23. Juan Marchena Fernández, "St. Augustine's Military Society, 1700-1820," El Escribano 22 (1985): 69.

24. Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia, 1650-1750 (New York: Norton, 1984), 12.

25. Gannon, Cross in the Sand, 191.

26. Charles S. Coomes, "Our Country's Oldest Parish Records, El Escribano, 18 (1981):74-83. Pedro José Gómez's claim stated that Eligio de la Puente's papers were located in Cuba in the office of the exchequer (Tribunal de Cuentas de Real Audiencia), Bnd. 320, no. 81, Claims for Town Lots, Spanish Land Grants manuscript collection (SLG), Florida Division of Historical Resources, Tallahassee, Florida.

27. For an example of the multiple distribution, see Juan Fernández de Olivera to the Crown, 1612 October 13, Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Audiencia de Santo Domingo 229 (hereafter SD), number 75.

28. José Miguel Chapuz, claim for the house of his mother Beatriz Amadora, Bundle 320, claim no. 62 [also numbered 298], Town Lots, SLG. Juan José Eligio de la Puente's correspondence to the Governor of Cuba noted that many of the evacuees were dead by the date of his report of 1770 January 27. AGI SC 87-1-5/4.

29. Cathedral Parish Records (hereafter CPR), Diocese of St. Augustine, Diocesan Center, Mandarin, Florida (microfilm copies at St. Augustine Historical Society).

30. Gannon, Cross in the Sand, 191-92.

31. CPR.

32. The muster rolls of soldiers and those individuals sustained by crown funds are generally titled "General List" (lista general or pie de lista), sometimes signed by the governor, at other times sent in the name of a subordinate, administrative official. The following musters were consulted; only date and archival citation are listed here: 1671 July 6, 58-1-26/16A; 1680 December 4, 54-5-12/9; 1683 May 27, 54-5-12/9; 1683 June 28, 54-5-11/102 duplicate; 1687 April 20, 54-5-14/41; 1698 December 2, 58-2-3/25; 1699 September 1, 54-5-15/136; 1701 December 3, 58-2-3/34; 1706, 1707, 1708, 1709 all December 3, 58-1-35/61; 1712 December 3, 58-2-3/59; 1714 December 31, 1714; 58-2-4/17; 1719 August 12, 58-2-4/25; 1717 June 3, 87-

1-2/63; 1738 April 5; 87-1-3/20; 1740 58-1-32/23; 1745 January 2, 87-3-12/70; 1746 January 12, 87-3-12/76; 1746 July 15, 87-3-12/84; 1747 January 23, 87-3-12/23; 1748 July 8 and 17, 87-3-13/2. The report by José Gelabert, 1751 October 29, 87-1-14/2 is very detailed and thus contributed a great deal to this study. All AGI SC.

33. Hardly any claimants presented certified copies of documents which had been transported to Mexico.

34. Gannon, Cross in the Sand, 192-93.

CHAPTER 2 LA FLORIDA'S FIRST CENTURY

St. Augustine, a Spanish garrison being planted to the southward of us about a hundred leagues, makes Carolina a frontier to all the English settlements on the main.

—Governor Nathaniel Johnson of
South Carolina, 1709

From an Iberian perspective, La Florida was a latecomer among New World settlements. Still, this youngster of Spain's American territories predated any enduring settlements of England or France in North America. The boundaries of La Florida originally extended to Newfoundland and to the west as far as the mind could comprehend. Other nations who planted settlements could only trespass in this context.

After a half-century of exploration of the southeast and thwarted settlement attempts, which began with Juan Ponce de León,¹ the Spanish at last in September 1565 founded St. Augustine, the first settlement to endure. Juan Ponce had set out from Puerto Rico in February 1521 with matériel to settle on the lower west coast of the Florida peninsula. But Native Americans drove the settlers out. In 1526 Spanish settlers established the San Miguel de Gualdape settlement on or near Sapelo, a Georgia barrier island. It

endured for no more than six weeks.² In 1559 a hurricane undermined the nascent Spanish settlement at Pensacola even before all cargo could be offloaded; still it survived until 1561.³ The 1565 expedition's leader, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, had intended to settle in the vicinity of Parris Island, South Carolina, but the construction of a French fort at the mouth of the St. Johns River led Menéndez to debark his colonists and supplies at the next harbor south of the French foothold. Such a location would provide a land base for Menéndez to attack French Fort Caroline and oust French colonists from Spanish-claimed lands. And Menéndez's men handily accomplished the removal within a few weeks of first landing.

Menéndez did establish a settlement at the intended Carolina location at Eastertide 1566. But Santa Elena's survival was even more fitful than that of St. Augustine. The Spanish abandoned Santa Elena in 1576 and reestablished it in 1578. By 1587 the Santa Elena site was given up for the second and final time and its residents resettled in St. Augustine.⁴ Thus the site at St. Augustine, which had begun as a default location, became the seat of permanent Spanish presence on the North American Atlantic coast.

The wisdom for St. Augustine's location probably caused many to question Menéndez's rationality for maintaining the settlement.⁵ The town took root on the west bank of an estuary of the Atlantic Ocean, not at the mouth of a river flowing from the interior. Surrounding rivers and creeks are tidal. Thus access to St. Augustine's hinterland was by land rather than via a

ready-made highway of water. The difficulty inherent in overland transport of the era would hinder interior development. Overland transport would become expensive in both money and good relations with the natives.

Nor was the harbor itself of much note. The entrance to the safety and haven of the estuary passed through a fickle inlet and shifting sand bars. An eighteenth-century traveler perceived the security from invading vessels that the bar offered. "It was Spanish wariness to fix the capital of a colony behind a sand-bank which cannot be crossed except at great peril."⁶ Such conditions served well at the time of founding when protection against French vessels was paramount. But the St. Augustine inlet bore out the Spanish proverb which advised "el cuchillo que corta el pan también se corta el dedo" (The knife which cuts your bread will also cut your finger). Storms and hurricanes could improve and deepen the passage or relocate and virtually close the entry.

Laborers had to offload supplies from deep-draft vessels anchored outside the inlet to be ferried in smaller boats to the city's landing. Larger ships dared not risk running aground in the inlet or allow themselves to be imprisoned in St. Augustine's harbor, awaiting the lunar phase to bring the highest tides and thus navigable depths. A series of north-south estuaries facilitated movement and transportation that paralleled the coast. But access into the interior from St. Augustine had to be overland, making the movement of goods most onerous.

Despite Spain's claim to the lone settlement in the region, the Spanish never had the lower southeast all to themselves. Raiders and traders from other European nations appeared and departed. For a century following the founding, no other European power secured a toehold in the region. But by the last quarter of the seventeenth century Spain faced a permanent English presence in South Carolina and the incipient French colony of Louisiana. A century of successive wars would re-shape both Europe and North America.

Spain's territorial status in the lower southeast went largely unchallenged from the time of Menéndez's founding of St. Augustine and Santa Elena in 1565 and 1566 until the advent of English Charleston in 1670. Historian Ralph Davis asserts that the 1607 placement of Jamestown reflected concern by England's James I "to keep well clear of the Spanish limits in Florida" in the early seventeenth century.⁷ Historian Kenneth Andrews similarly claims that England "shrank" from challenging Spain over Virginia and that the English even explained that endeavor to the Spanish as a private risk rather than an English crown project.⁸ English, French, and Dutch traders and privateers indeed devastated Spanish settlements throughout the circum-Caribbean and deprived residents and the crown of security and material goods, but acquisition of the land and the labor of its native inhabitants was not a part of their agenda. Early Dutch, French, and especially English activity was as booty driven as early Spanish aims, although stereotypes persist of the "settling" English and the "greedy,"

extractive Spanish.⁹ These latecomer raiders generally targeted the wealth or goods of other Europeans while the Spanish had focused on appropriating Native American resources. Money, supplies, and perhaps artillery, not lands, lured Francis Drake to attack St. Augustine in 1586.¹⁰ The French, more oriented to trade than plunder, continued seasonal trading visits to the southeast coast despite their rout by Menéndez in 1565 and again in 1580 at the mouth of the St. Johns River. The Guale natives of the Georgia coast and French corsairs both ignored Spanish prohibitions on their trading activities.¹¹

The advent in the south of English settlement in 1670 marked a change in life and activity in the southeast by virtue of the raids and attacks that the English and their Indian allies made in the region. Governor Johnson's remark in 1709 charging that the Spanish presence so near to Carolina forced the English colonists to live in a state of fear and alert ignored the chronology of settlement, but well illustrated English jealousy. France's appearance in 1699 along the lower Mississippi River and the coast of the northern Gulf of Mexico added to the complexity. Historian Charles Arnade refers to the international conflict in the southeast as a "triangular struggle."¹² Yet, continuing with his geometric metaphor, a polygon serves as a better description, for the various Native American nations comprised "sides" as well. The struggle was certainly not equilateral and the number of sides and their respective sizes varied over time. Arnade assigns the Native

Americans' weight to one of the three major European players rather than seeing native activity as purely native in character, driven by native benefit and survival rather than by allegiance to one or another of the colonial powers. Historian Daniel Usner views Native Americans in the region as a forceful group who participates fully in shaping its own destiny in the face of Europeans' territorial and commercial machinations. Usner, for the French Lower Mississippi Valley, and historian Amy Bushnell, for Spanish Florida, both point out the Europeans' or Euro-Americans' dependence upon the natives for food in the face of the French and Spanish metropolises' ever-inadequate supply practices.¹³

Entry of the English permanently into the southeast in 1670 coincided with the zenith of the Spanish Florida mission system and with the time of the largest reported number of Indian communicants. It was the mission residents on the coast of the southeast who felt the first English attacks on Spanish enclaves and against Spanish influence in the region. The mission residents quickly adapted to the new reality in the region as they relocated and reorganized. It was only the beginning of changes for Spanish Florida.

Florida's proximity to the Gulf Stream offered an asset that Spain could not risk having another empire control. The current came very close to the mainland along Florida's southern coast, increasing the potential for shipwreck in that area. So long as Florida remained Spanish, cargo and passengers cast overboard might be saved by Spanish interests. Near St.

Augustine the current turned sharply eastward and the natural propulsion of the Gulf Stream carried the galleons away from the Americas and out into the Atlantic toward Europe. This route made St. Augustine the last chance for Spain's silver fleet to get assistance with navigational problems or aid against threatening enemy vessels.¹⁴ When Florida's benefit to the empire was questioned in light of its meager production during hearings in 1602, justification for maintaining the colony was put forth in the larger context of the colony's role in the security of the fleets and therefore the security of Spain's economy.¹⁵

Florida helped protect Spain's access to precious metals. Florida's role continued to be its strategic location to protect shipping headed to Spain laden with ingots and other colonial products. Near the end of the eighteenth century Florida additionally buffered the valuable silver mines of Mexico from overland incursions from the new United States.¹⁶ Only when Spain had almost nothing left to protect in the Caribbean after the wars for independence of the early nineteenth century did the Spanish crown give up its colony of Florida.

Notes

1. Michael Gannon, "First European Contacts," in Michael Gannon, ed., The New History of Florida (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 20-21.
2. Paul E. Hoffman, "Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón," in Jeannine Cook, ed., Columbus and the Land of Ayllón: The Exploration and Settlement of the Southeast (Darien, GA: Lower Altamaha Historical Society, 1992), 27.
3. Gannon, "First European Contacts," 34-35.
4. Eugene Lyon, "Settlement and Survival," in Gannon, ed., New History of Florida, 48-58; Amy Turner Bushnell, Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1994), 62-64.
5. Among the concerns addressed during the 1602 inquiry by the Spanish crown of St. Augustine's continued existence were the area's topographical defects (questions 4 and 5). Charles W. Arnade, Florida On Trial, 1593-1602 (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1959), 24.
6. Johann David Schoepf, Travels in the Confederation, trans. Alfred J. Morrison, Vol. 2 (New York: B. Franklin, 1968), 228-29.
7. Ralph Davis, The Rise of the Atlantic Economies (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973), 83.
8. Kenneth R. Andrews, Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 310-12.
9. Eugene Lyon's numerous studies of Pedro Menéndez's plans for Florida have dispelled the traditional Hispanophobic conclusions which limited actions to conquering, enslaving and mining. See The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1976) and Pedro Menéndez de Avilés Vol. 24 Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks (New York: Garland, 1995).
10. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1971), 28-29; Amy Turner Bushnell, The King's Coffer: Proprietors of the Spanish Florida Treasury, 1656-1702 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1981), 94-95.
11. Bushnell, Situado and Sabana, 63-65.

12. Charles W. Arnade, "Raids, Sieges and International Wars," in Gannon, ed., New History of Florida (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 100.
13. Daniel H. Usner, Jr., Indians, Settlers and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Amy Turner Bushnell, Situado and Sabana.
14. Murdo MacLeod, "Spain's Atlantic Trade, 1492-1720," in Leslie Bethell, ed. The Cambridge History of Latin America I, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 341-88.
15. Arnade summarizes the Franciscan friars' position as in favor of maintaining the colony of La Florida, but abandoning the Florida peninsula in favor of an area located closer to the bulk of the Indian population. "Geographical and nautical considerations, indeed recognized by the fathers, were of but minor importance" in their point of view. Florida on Trial, 89.
16. Elena Sánchez-Fabrés Mirat, Situación histórica de las Floridas en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII (1783-1819) (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1977), 9, 111.

CHAPTER 3
ASSIMILATED NATIVE AMERICANS:
FLORIDA'S 'URBAN' INDIANS

The inhabitants were of all colours, whites, negroes, mulattoes, Indians, &c, at the evacuation of St. Augustine.

—John Bartram, 1765

Of the three major empires to claim and colonize the Americas—Spain, England, France—the Spanish viewed the Native Americans more as a resource, in fact a necessity, rather than an obstruction to the viability of their New World endeavors. Indian labor had been among the first rewards offered by the crown to early Spanish colonizers of the Caribbean. When Spain finally turned toward settling the North American mainland, the Spanish carried with them their viewpoint that Native labor was essential for success.

Indian slavery was never really a factor in the colony of Florida, for by the time of Juan Ponce's first voyage to Florida in 1513, Indian slavery had already been legally prohibited in Spanish America by the Laws of Burgos of 1512, so called for the city in which they were promulgated. Thus, theoretically, the Native Americans of Florida were free Spanish subjects, and the Spanish had to rely upon enticing native laborers rather than enslaving them. The institution of slavery remained firmly in place for Africans in

Spanish Florida and throughout Spanish America, although Spanish rule offered Africans more options for freedom and economic opportunities than did other colonial regimes.¹

Euro-Americans, Native Americans and African-Americans were present as well in the contemporary regions of other colonial powers on the North American mainland, but the interaction among the races differed with region, culture, and empire. French New Orleans counted Indians and blacks among its residents. Daniel Usner writes that slaves "constituted the core of the resident Indian population" of the Louisiana capital. Indian slavery was also permitted in the English colonies. In Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, the sale of Indians enslaved in wars of removal helped to pay for the wars themselves. South Carolina has been described as "preeminent in the use and exportation of Indian slaves" among all the British continental colonies.²

After the middle of the seventeenth century, Native American groups formed the frontier between rival European nations who claimed territory in southeastern North America. By the time of the establishment of Florida (and the Philippines and New Mexico), Hapsburg purposefulness had altered the earlier American *encomienda* system (a state assignment of compulsory labor) into a grant to collect tribute.³ In comparison to the expectations upon Native labor in Peru and New Spain, Florida officials believed that they were especially ungreedy and lax in their demands with "no *encomiendas*, *obrajes*

[sweat shops] or mines." The labor levy which Florida officials had negotiated with chiefs (caciques) supplied manpower (and it was to be unmarried manpower) primarily to maintain fortifications, to plant fields for Spaniards, and to furnish household and personal servants and ranch hands. As for the specific labor demands, Natives found the requirement of burden-bearing to be the most galling. While Governor Andrés Rodríguez de Villegas declared in 1630 that Florida Indians were "the best treated in America," it is doubtful that the Florida Natives shared His Lordship's positive view of the situation, for the workers were not comparing the demands upon them with those upon Natives in the labor-devouring areas of Mexico or Peru. Nor did the Florida Natives' worldview include a pre-Columbian past of massive labor exaction of or by other Native groups.⁴

Still, the number of Indians in the Florida colony fell and alarmed officials. Anthropologist John Worth describes the seventeenth-century mission era as being a time of "a free-fall decline" in population. The decline mystified Governor Luis de Rojas y Borja (1624-30). The shrinking Native population ultimately translated into fewer producers of food for the Spanish in Florida.⁵ The colony's governors continually fretted about feeding and fighting and the intertwining of the two problems. Plagued by such concerns, Florida officials responded to the specter of a scarcity of Native labor with decisions that only exacerbated the problem and alienated the labor source. When an epidemic in 1655 diminished the number of Timucuan Indians of

northeastern Florida who were available to grow corn to be sent to feed the presidio in St. Augustine, Governor Diego de Rebolledo (1654-1659) launched a ruthless raid on other groups to acquire workers to plant compensatory fields near St. Augustine. Contemporary events in the Caribbean worsened the situation for Florida Natives. Multinational rivalries, especially the Anglo-Spanish competition in the Americas, brought pressures upon the Natives of La Florida even before the English established a permanent presence in the lower southeast. Alarmed by the English capture of Jamaica, Rebolledo attempted to call up Indian nobles for militia service, who were in addition ordered to bring their own food with them on their backs, thus demeaned "as if they were mules or horses."⁶

Then in 1670 the English made a permanent incursion into the lower southeast and henceforth into the Spanish monopoly of the region's Native American labor pool and surplus. The dynamics between Europeans and Native changed dramatically.

Unlike most regions of Spanish America, residents of all colors and cultures in colonial Florida found themselves physically threatened by European enemies, primarily England. Within the context of the international face-off in the southeast, Spanish colonial officials had to adapt their methods of dealing with the Native Americans of the region. No longer could the requirement of native labor be demanded and expected; rather officials had to

recruit and woo Natives' cooperation or sometimes at best settle for Natives' inaction.

More plentiful and superior gifts and trade items lured Native groups to the orbit of England and Carolina. But interchange with the Carolinians could mean tragedy instead of material acquisitions for Natives. Under the guise of warfare, Carolinians also captured and enslaved Indians, citing disagreements over land rights, destruction of crops and slaying of cattle as bases to justify attack. Carolina's Indian allies brought in Spanish-allied Indians to be slaves. Most of the Carolina slaves were shipped to the West Indies to work. Exported Indian labor capitalized Carolina in the early years when no staple crop had yet proved successful. Historian Converse Clowse asserts that the export of Indian slaves may have been the most important generator of profits during the first five years of Carolina's existence. The extent of the trade is not known as it was illicit and thus little documented.⁷ It was a simple extractive venture, so to speak, that could be quickly set up with little equipment, expertise or capitalization. With slaves being supplied by wars among the Native groups themselves, Carolinians did not make direct demands upon individual labor as the Spanish did.

A decade after the founding of Charleston, Carolinians began the assault on Spanish presence in the southeast in earnest. Abetted by fickle Yamasee allies, Carolina colonists drove the Spanish soldiers, priests and Indian converts from St. Catherine's Island as the first operation. The mission

towns and the Indians who chose to remain with the Spanish began island-hopping southward, regrouping all the while. The English also harried to the west in the Apalachee area and extended their influence among the Lower Creeks.⁶ Meanwhile the Spanish demands upon Native labor surged in order to furnish laborers for the building of the shellstone fortress in St. Augustine. Groundbreaking for the fortress began only two years after the founding of Charleston and continued for 23 years. Natives became disenchanted with European empires in the southeast, but were given little opportunity to be neutral. Additionally, Natives' attraction to manufactured metal goods, cloth and liquor altered the Native lifeways so that they became materially dependent upon the imports. During the 1690s the hostilities abated and superficially friendly relations existed, with the English and the Spanish each keeping the other informed on activities of the French, the common threat-of-the-moment to them both.⁹

In 1702 the English in Carolina took advantage of the outbreak of war in Europe to attack Spain in Florida. In September 1702 a Carolinian and Yamassee expeditionary force of 800 to 1200 (sources disagree) set out for Spanish Florida. Spanish-allied coastal Natives fled to St. Augustine's fortress as the English with their own Indian allies approached. Charles Arnade termed the conflict in Florida as "one of the first large engagements in the international struggle on the North American continent . . . [which] marked the beginning of a century of warfare in North America."¹⁰ English

attacks in the Apalachee area in both 1702 and 1704 resulted in the destruction of Spanish missions and the capture and enslavement of "reasonably no more than a thousand Natives" according to John Hann's assessment. The leader of the English forces, James Moore, reported figures ranging from 400 to 4000.¹¹ The English would sell the captives to offset the cost of the conflict. The Carolinians' assaults left the Natives scattered. While in the east all racial and cultural groups suffered from the total burning of the capital city by the English before the invaders retreated.

In 1715 Carolina's Yamassee allies turned on the English colonists. Florida's governor denied any part in inciting the attacks. In truth the Spanish in Florida were engaged in literally rebuilding St. Augustine and were hardly in a condition to give more than verbal support to attacks against the English. Outlying Spanish missions were almost nonexistent, for the Spanish in Florida had not yet recuperated sufficiently to move out much beyond the capital and the protection of the fort and its artillery. Many Native Americans of South Carolina subsequently fled to Florida for refuge. Historian John Hann notes the paradox of the refugees running to Spanish Florida from the Yamassee War who had only a decade earlier "played prominent roles in the destruction of the Florida missions." Hann further asserts that the influx led to a significant reorganization and expansion of the settlements that had already arisen to accommodate the refugees from the missions in the century's first decade.¹² Hoping to perpetuate "infidel and Catholic Indians" as allies,

Florida Governor Córcoles requested from the Spanish crown "funds to succor and bring them to our side ... [and] make them productive."¹³ He feared that the English would try to invade in order to destroy their former Native allies now in Florida.¹⁴

The tables of the southeast had turned. The Yamassees had forced contraction of English settlement to a small area of South Carolina reminiscent of what the English had done to the Spanish of Florida only about fifteen years earlier. Perhaps Córcoles wanted also to ensure his own peace with the Native rebels, who had now seen their own strength and who might decide to use it on the Spanish as well. Indeed the interaction between the Spanish and the Natives, albeit with various and different Native groups as time passed, had transformed from the Spaniards' requiring labor and products to a Spanish position of supporting Natives as refugees and potential allies or at the least to appease them and assure inaction on the part of the Natives.

During the first quarter of the eighteenth century relations with Native Americans in Spanish Florida found the Natives transformed into an expense, a fiscal liability that could not be neglected lest they defect to other empires. Gangs of workers no longer arrived from missions to sustain defense projects and other public works. Indians had been interacting within the society since the Europeans' arrival. Spanish male colonists early on took Indian women as brides, which allowed the establishment of a stable and self-sustaining

population early. A priest shipwrecked about 1595 reported "there are few Spanish women, and only today I heard it said that a Spaniard was married to an Indian chieftainess". He also observed that some of the Indians spoke Castillian well and dressed in the Spanish style.¹⁵

Indians served as personal servants and contract workers for Spanish families at outposts and in St. Augustine. Native Americans in Apalachee in the San Luis region resentfully provided services to the household of the deputy governor stationed there, Juan Fernández de Florencia. Indians manned the ferries at the St. Johns River crossing to the interior, building and repairing the vessels as well. Indians came from Apalachee to serve employers in St. Augustine. Two who ran amok in St. Augustine, fashioning small counterfeit coins, described themselves: "a contract Indian" and the other as having "no other trade than to render service in what he is ordered to, as at present he is serving [his master] in his field."¹⁶ Indians' carpentry skills helped literally to build St. Augustine. After felling the trees, the Natives had planed the finished boards for the roof and fences of the governor's house built in 1690 and they might very well have done so for private building in exchange for payment in cash, but more likely in kind. During the confinement of Florida residents in the English siege of St. Augustine, Marta María, a Guala wage worker (naboría) married to a slave, gave birth to one of the babies born inside the fortress.¹⁷

The Yamassee uprising in Carolina and its shockwaves of refugees brought about new interactions between Native and Spanish. The refugees were settled along the very perimeter of the town of St. Augustine. Indians from several villages and language groups were mixed together within the enclaves. John Hann has translated accountings by officials and friars of the refugee villages, which emphasize languages as well as village affiliations. Chilean historian Mario Góngora observes that colonial officials and priests throughout Spanish America denominated and grouped Natives by language rather than by Native organization. In the early days of New-World settlement, missionaries emphasized the preservation of Native tongues and evangelized in the Indian languages, the learning of which they considered to be one of their first duties. More than two hundred years later the tradition of linguistic classification and separation persisted throughout Latin America and perpetuated the racial and caste system.¹⁸

Retreat and Relocations

Like a concertina, Florida's mission villages over the five decades after the 1702-1704 destructions moved alternately nearer to and then farther from St. Augustine in response to raids or threats of raids. In the process of the relocations villages were combined and sometimes new refugees attached when the latter's towns ceased to be viable communities. For example, the Pocolalaca village had relocated nearer the capital after an early-morning

attack on November 1, 1725 drove its residents into the safety of the city from their location at Las Rosas de Ayamón about 16 miles south of St. Augustine (two or three miles south of Matanzas Inlet). Following this raid, the chief of the village and his family lived in town, sustained by one of the town's upstanding citizens. Agustín Guillermo de Fuentes "received into his own house" the chief, his wife, three children, his father- and mother-in-law, the chief's nephew and another young boy.¹⁹ But so insecure did the refugees of the relocated Pocotalaca village feel that in 1728 they moved into the town at night from their daytime location already as close as "a musket-shot distance from the castillo."²⁰ In 1739 Governor Manuel de Montiano moved the Pocotalaca members back to the countryside "to cultivate more fertile lands . . . at a distance of four leagues," probably near their earlier location at Ayamón. (A league's size varied from 2-1/2 to four miles. By the late 1700s in Florida, it often equaled about three miles.) But they would not remain in the countryside. In 1763 an alphabetical symbol on Engineer Pablo Castelló's map marked the existence of the village of Pocotalaca once again closer to St. Augustine, on the southern outskirts of the town.²¹ An ordinary green-and-white bridge sign on Interstate 95 today bearing the words "Pocotaliga River" reminds of the villagers' refugee history and the sign serves as an unintentional epitaph for that village's even earlier, pre-Florida site in South Carolina.

The trail of the village of Tolomato likewise wound its way ever southward down the coastal islands and ultimately departed the North American mainland for the Antilles in 1763. Until the middle of the seventeenth century the Tolomato people inhabited the area around St. Catherine's Island on the Georgia coast. At some time prior to 1658 the Tolomato village was located in McIntosh County; some have suggested at the site of Fort King George.²² Raids by hostile, non-Christian Indians forced the village's displacement to a new site some two to three leagues north of St. Augustine. Bishop Calderón visited the mission of La Natividad de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Tolomato in 1675, when it was situated at the tip of the Guana peninsula on North River near St. Augustine.²³ The Tolomato Cemetery on Cordova Street in St. Augustine marks a subsequent location of the village and perpetuates its name. (The cemetery postdates the village.) The graveyard occupies the last North American mainland location of the Tolomato villagers. In 1763 remnants of the Tolomato people evacuated Florida for Cuba, along with the rest of the colony's Spanish subjects, in the face of incoming British rule.

While Natives associated with missions themselves or at least with the missions' inhabitants sought security near the capital, other southeastern Natives were filling the lands in the interior of the Florida peninsula left vacant by the missions' disappearance. Spanish colonial officials took advantage of animosities between Creek groups and English colonists in the southeast and

among the Creeks groups themselves to invite the disenchanted groups to relocate to Florida. The Creek groups might have also been looking for areas with more fertile soil than their planting grounds in today's Georgia could offer after years of maize and bean culture. Lt. Diego Peña visited Lower Creek villages in 1716, 1717 and 1718 and successfully recruited new residents for Spanish Florida.²⁴

Little is known about the half century of relocation into Florida. Anthropologist Brent Weisman illustrates the minimal information in his remark that with respect to the exact dates of Seminole colonization in Florida: "The period 1716-67 is as much as we can say." Weisman and historian John Mahon divide early Seminole history into two periods. The "colonization period" featured the initial migrations of the Creek towns into Florida. The "enterprise period" saw an era of prosperity under British and returned Spanish rule prior to the cession of Florida to the United States. During the colonization period Creeks not only migrated into Florida, but also diminished their ties and identification with the Creek groups they left behind. By the time of Florida's transfer to Great Britain, the relocated Creeks had become known as Seminoles.²⁵ The term "Seminole" derives from a Muskogee term simano-li, which itself had been appropriated from the Spanish word cimarrón, both meaning "wild" or "runaway."²⁶

While these migrating groups were friendly with the Spanish regime, there was little contact between these two groups and cultures. With little interaction, Seminoles remained for the most part outside of the orbit of Iberian cultural influence.

From Village to Town: from Ward to Citizen

Proximity and manpower needs of the Spanish colony enabled some of the Native Americans refuged near the capital to move out of their Indian enclaves and into the town's neighborhoods. According to historian Robert Gold's computations, eighty-nine Indians, composing nineteen families, left St. Augustine in the 1763 evacuation. But St. Augustine's Indians were in fact undercounted; the tally of the Indian evacuees included only wards of the Crown and not the independent Indian residents.

Native American families who had left their village homes for a town residence and economic integration also achieved documentary identification with the military and civilian personnel.²⁷ For modern researchers the Indian who moved into homes interspersed among the Spanish citizenry became increasingly difficult to locate in contemporary records: with their progressive integration into the tableau of Spanish society, the Indians blended into the documentary mosaic as well. Without the survival of the Catholic Church's records of births, marriages and deaths and the expanded information required for those entries in the mid-eighteenth century, these "urban Indians"

would be almost impossible to discern—perhaps an indication of how well the Natives blended into the society itself at the time. Intensive study of the parish records yields recognition of the presence of independent Indians families and enables the creation of genealogies and partial biographies of the individuals who composed the families.

Pedro Tomás de Ribera and his wife, María de la Cruz, of Tolomato village, established themselves as an independent, self-sustaining family within the town walls or inside the defense line (linea). Pedro and María literally and juridically crossed the line, truly making a positive passage toward higher personal and social evolution from the perspective of the dominant Hispanic culture. Pedro and María had been born during the years when the Tolomato village relocated for the survival of its members and as a group. In sworn statements and Church records Ribera claimed that he was a native of this Guale (Ibaja) village.²⁸ Although in the eyes of Euro-American recorders the Riberas had shed their village affiliation for town citizenship, María and Pedro continued to live very close to their village. They located their home on the west side of Spanish Street—at the closest possible site to the Tolomato village.²⁹ In 1764 the Ribera-de la Cruz homesite occupied the width of the block and with street frontage of 44 varas (120 English feet). The structures on the Ribera-de la Cruz lot were not ephemeral refugee huts. Archaeological evidence indicated a two-cell structure with an interior

masonry partition and the foundations' dimensions suggest a two-story building.³⁰

Physically as well as symbolically, Pedro and María remained, however, close to the line between being Indian and Hispanic—between ward and citizen. Their back property boundary was a portion of the defense line that surrounded St. Augustine and it marked the spatial and social designation between inside the walls and outside the walls. Discussing free-black contemporaries of Pedro and María as well as other town Indians in St. Augustine society, historian Jane Landers refers to the Spanish cultural association of urbanization with the advance of civilization. Residence outside the city, outside its walls, reflected lower cultural and spiritual development. She asserts that the efforts in 1752 of Governor García de Sola to remove blacks back to their own former village at Mose "beyond the walls" . . . made a visible statement about their supposed inferiority." The free blacks had moved into St. Augustine for protection in 1740, abandoning their own village about two miles north of the capital. It is interesting that Governor Montiano's moving the Pocolalaca village back to the countryside (mentioned previously) was contemporaneous with Montiano's establishing of the free black community at Mose in 1738.³¹ Montiano had removed the less Hispanic elements out of town and to the periphery, where they could also serve as first lines of defense. These peripheral residents had the most to fear and to

lose from British attacks or British-allied Indian raids; runaway slaves and enemy Indians could be taken or re-taken as slaves.

Ribera claimed that he and his family were parishoners and citizens of juridical St. Augustine and were listed as such on the official rolls. Distinction between full-fledged parishoner and mission Indian meant the difference between independence or dependency, between being a legally full member of the society, a vecino, or being a ward under the jurisdiction of the friars. Ribera stated that he had been married and received a nuptial benediction in the parish church, and that his children likewise had all been baptized in the parish church. When a Franciscan friar included Ribera and his family on the lists of those under the friars' care, Ribera objected and claimed that the friar's action was "against my wishes." The formal objection by Ribera might well have been instigated and orchestrated by the secular clergy, who wanted to retain as many parishioners as possible. Ribera's statement, however, illustrates the importance of the distinction to him and his family. Natives had the option, or in the language of the day privilege, granted by the king to choose their parish. Ribera and de la Cruz chose the main parish church of St. Augustine, not a mission church.³²

Ribera acquired a man-space (plaza del rey) with the cavalry company and it can be reasonably assumed the pay and equipment that accompanied the position as well. In 1746 he was killed while fighting enemy Indians.³³ María de la Cruz might have also have contributed cash or goods to the family

through her own work. A notation that María baptized a newborn infant at the point of death suggests that María might have served as a midwife.³⁴

Assimilation and incorporation of Pedro and María into the economy and society of colonial Florida was reflected in the marriages of their four children who lived to adulthood. Many other siblings had been laid to rest in the Florida soil, for the parish records reveal a succession of burials in the churchyard of small, frequently nameless, children (párvulos) born to Pedro and María: in December 1737, November 1738 (this girl surviving at least long enough to receive a name), August 1740, June 1741.³⁵

The marriages of Pedro and María's children reflected the changing population and the changes to the society of St. Augustine society. Four children survived Pedro, none of whom married either residents of Indian towns nor mestizos (children with white and Indian parentage).³⁶ Very much in the St. Augustine tradition, daughter Ana Lucia married a soldier from southern Spain. This couple represented the expected interracial marriage: Spanish soldiers had been finding wives among the Native population since the earliest days of the colony. Juan de Ribera married a woman recently arrived in St. Augustine as part of an immigrant group of Canary Islanders. When Juan died in Havana in 1772, his will revealed how acculturated into Hispanic society he had become. He instructed that he be buried according to the rituals of the Third of Order of St. Francis, a prestigious international religious order for laypersons.³⁷

Sons Francisco Xavier and Antonio married white creole women born in St. Augustine. The recognition of the existence of these marriages runs counter to the widely accepted assumption that "in the Spanish town . . . the union of Spanish and Indian always involved a Spanish man and an Indian woman."³⁸ Francisco Xavier's father-in-law had arrived in St. Augustine as a soldier from southern Spain and typically found a wife among the town's Euro-American population.³⁹ The most surprising union was the one contracted by Antonio de la Cruz Ribera. Here was a Native American man who married a local Spanish woman—and one who was highly connected, at that. Antonio's wife was a first cousin of the wife of Governor Lucas de Palacio. Did Antonio make a surprising match or did the governor? Perhaps both men did. Father Juan José de Solana, who said little about Governor Palacio that was complimentary, criticized the governor for marrying below his station with this match.⁴⁰

One street to the east of the Ribera-de la Cruz homesite lived another Indian family. In the house that stood directly at the head of the alley that led to the Castillo lived the Native American family of Chief (Cacique) Francisco Jospogue.⁴¹ In his old age, Chief Francisco petitioned the Spanish Crown to award him a pension in recognition of his loyalty and sacrifices. His written request provides an unusual opportunity to follow the story of a Native American family for more than a century. The family's tale represents and symbolizes the travails of the Native groups buffeted by international rivalry in

the colonial southeast. Chief Francisco's testimony indicated that he was born to "noble Christian" parents only a few years before the founding (1670) of Charleston; he claimed to be about thirty-six years of age when Florida Governor Torres y Ayala (1693-99) recognized him as hereditary chief of his village.⁴² St. Catherine's Island or its vicinity was probably Chief Francisco's birthplace; Ospogue Bar was located four leagues south of Sapelo Sound in Guale.⁴³ Francisco's long association with the Spanish, perhaps since birth in the 1660s or 1670s, indicated Guale or Timucuan ancestry. Perhaps a friar taught him early to sign his name, for his petition to the king in 1728 bears Francisco's signature.

Chief Francisco was silent about his migration toward St. Augustine and Spanish protection. He paid a high price for his allegiance to the Spanish Crown. In the early months of 1702 Governor Zúñiga spoke of Francisco's position as chief of the mission village of Nombre de Dios Chiquito. The English incursions into Spanish Florida and the siege of St. Augustine at the end of that year would destroy and displace Native villages along the coast. In November 1715, enemy "pagan" Indians allied with the English descended upon St. Augustine seeking to burn the town. Chief Francisco was "one of the first to take up arms to defend" the "city of Florida." His family, defenseless in the absence of the fighting men of the village, were captured by the marauders. The Spanish Council of the Indies in Madrid in 1716 regretted the situation in which the English "offer[ed] arms, munitions, foods and clothing to

those Indians who will capture Christian [that is, Catholic] Indians found within Carolina's jurisdiction." Carolina's putative territorial claims at that time extended to a line far south of St. Augustine. English-led raiders separated the strong Indians at knifepoint, then "gather[ed] up the women and children to conduct them away to be sold as slaves in other British lands." Often the head chiefs of these violated villages banded together to offer foods and other products to ransom their captured families. Three times the English offered to return Chief Francisco's family in exchange for his alliance with the English side and abandonment of Catholicism. Three times he refused. He believed that his wife and four children had been dispersed and separately "perished," probably sold as slaves to work on sugar plantations in Jamaica or Barbados.⁴⁴

In 1717, left without a family and perhaps without many of his former followers Chief Francisco found himself shepherding a group of recent refugees who had fled the Yamasees' war with the English. In 1715 the Yamasees as well as Creeks, Choctaws and Cherokees in Carolina had revolted in dissatisfaction with English traders. The Yamasees, who had forsaken the Spanish and the Guale region for the English in Carolina during the 1680s, turned back to their old Spanish allies for protection after the uprising.⁴⁵ Chief Jospo[que] was attached, possibly assigned, to the Yamasee village of Our Lady of Candelaria. He governed forty-six adults and twenty-three children, all "heathens" except one warrior. Perhaps the

governor placed these newcomers under Francisco's care because of the chief's record of accomplishing many conversions in the past and his knowledge of the Yamasee language.⁴⁶

Francisco Jospo[gue] and Agustina Pérez were married some time before 1728. Agustina appears only once in the parish records with a racial description: mestiza. All of the entries for Agustina reside in the books for non-whites, but records offer no village association for her or her parents. Perhaps Agustina was, like her sister, a native of the village of Nombre de Dios Chiquito, which had at one time been headed by Chief Francisco Jospogue. Perhaps wishing to create a new family, Chief Francisco chose a wife quite a bit younger than himself, for Agustina bore children as late as 1751, whereas Francisco was in his sixties when their son Miguel was born in 1728. Over the at least twenty-two years that Agustina was giving birth, the Church records suggest that the newborns that she buried outnumbered those that survived.⁴⁷

The Jospo family probably took advantage of the purchasing power that came with the granting of Francisco's pension of two reales daily to acquire a lot and tabby house on St. George Street. They moved in between 1734, when Francisco's petition was finally forwarded to the proper authorities, and before 1737, when neighbors referred to Jospo as deceased. Their lot, like the Riberas' property, spanned the width of the block, 191 feet (70 varas), but provided only 41 feet (15 varas) frontage on St. George Street.

In 1738 Agustina married the son of a chief, a birth position that held little promise in the matrilineal Native societies of the southeast. Thus would Agustina's new husband be bypassed in a structure wherein inheritance to rule passed from uncle to nephew through the chief's sister.⁴⁵

Agustina's new husband, Juan de Fuentes, found employment as a sailor and later as a soldier in the artillery company, while Agustina and her child or children contributed money to the household as the heirs to Chief Francisco's pension, secured by virtue of Francisco's loyalty. Thus Agustina Pérez provided income for her family through the same pension mechanism as did many of St. Augustine's Euro-American widows.⁴⁶

The "urban" Indians insinuated themselves into the social fabric of St. Augustine through the foremost institutions of the Spanish world: the church and the military. Like Ribera, Fuentes looked to his relationship to the Church structure to verify his independence and citizenship. Incorporated into the Franciscans' census like Ribera and his family, Fuentes also argued that he was a citizen of the town and that he and his family were communicants of the parish church, not residents of the missions or their churches. In the rivalry between the secular priests, who staffed the parish church, and the friars, who manned the missions, Ribera, Fuentes, along with other neighbors, were enrolled by the friars to "pad" statistics as the missionaries tried to justify their continued existence in the face of dwindling flocks when the Indian families had indeed left behind their status as dependent, mission Indians. The

controversy about who had jurisdiction over natives in St. Augustine had come up at the beginning of the eighteenth century. At that time the crown decided in favor of the regular clergy—the Franciscans. But in 1746, the crown reversed its earlier decision and favored the secular clergy. John TePaske's administrative viewpoint presents the religious contention from the administrative viewpoint and what the decisions meant for the church and state. But, indeed, the subjects of the controversy had their own concerns and saw their autonomy at issue.⁵⁰

Social Alliances

Mirroring the dominant society, these Indian families employed the relationships arising out of personal religious life to improve and solidify their status as citizens. Choices of sponsors and attendants at the personal religious rites of baptism and marriage established and formalized obligations which could carry over into the profane parts of life. Godparents of higher standing could open social and economic opportunities for the godchild or for the child's parents. Landers has identified the importance of the ritual kinships and the dynamics associated with godparenthood as practiced by blacks in Spanish St. Augustine. She notes that religious kinships linked all three races. Generally white persons could offer the most status and benefits through the ritual relations to blacks, Indians, or mixed bloods. Throughout the Spanish Indies birth in the Iberian peninsula carried status that birth in the

Americas did not command. Choice of sponsors was effected by proximity considerations, such as the selection of neighbors, or by corporate or institutional relations, such as social hierarchy or social distance imposed by military ranks. Nor should we diminish or discount the importance and strength of affection as an influence in the selection. Native Americans, of course, honored and entrusted members of their own families and villages with selection to stand for them in these important positions.

But St. Augustine's Native American families also chose Spanish-born neighbors, and in a few surprising instances were chosen by Spanish families to act as witnesses or sponsors at rites for Spanish citizens. When the daughter of Agustina Pérez and the deceased Chief Francisco Jospogue married in 1750, Agustina selected her entrepreneurial next-door neighbor, the Iberian, Francisco Navarro, to be a witness. Agustina had similarly incorporated other Spanish neighbors when her own sister, the latter still living in her natal village, had married a few years earlier. Agustina at that time chose a locally important couple, the Hitas, who lived only a few doors away. It is likely that the nuptials took place at Agustina's house on St. George Street. Navarro, who owned a store that sold English wares, members of the Hita family, and Joaquín Blanco, in charge of the Crown's warehouse and an importer in his own right, frequently participated in non-white ceremonies, perhaps expanding or reinforcing obligations and strengthening their own commercial positions in the process.⁵¹

Several Latin American historians who have studied the practice of godparenthood (compadrazgo) conclude that in the Spanish New World the relationship between the parents and godparents was more important than that between the godparent and godchild, the latter being the primary relationship in Spain.⁵² Artillery Sergeant Martín Martínez Gallegos, who lived directly across the street from Agustina Pérez and Juan de Fuentes, agreed to be godfather to their daughter. A sailor at the time of the baby's baptism, Fuentes subsequently advanced economically and no doubt socially when he was able to enlist in an artillery company. Did the godfather-sergeant facilitate Fuentes's entry into the artillery corps? Artillery service was desirable in a military town for not only did the artillery pay better than cavalry service but it also offered its members exemptions and privileges not available to other branches, such as the cavalry or infantry.⁵³ Fuentes and Antonio de la Cruz Ribera, both Indians, drew annual salaries of 180 pesos as artillerymen in comparison to the 158 pesos paid to Fuentes's neighbor, infantryman Lorenzo Gómez, from an old St. Augustine creole family. In an interesting interracial turnabout Gómez requested the Indian Francisco Xávier de Ribera to be the godfather of Gómez's two-day-old daughter. Kinship with the Indian Ribera might have offered some economic advantage to Gómez for Francisco Xavier owned land and buildings along the waterfront in the area where retail stores and warehouses were located.⁵⁴

Flexible Racial Classification

As Native American residents of St. Augustine moved further into the town's social and economic life, the descriptions of them in racial terms diminished in documents and was replaced by economic identification, usually in occupational terms. When Juan de Fuentes married Agustina Pérez, the priest recording the union described the bride and groom in terms of their relationships to Indian nobles: the widow and the son of chiefs, respectively. Parish records made two and three years later denominated Fuentes by his occupation, a sailor, and did not include a racial description for him.

The priests were not consistent in their use of terms specifying racial mixture. Yet what appears to be inconsistencies might very well have been determined acts by the recorders. In 1735 the Church in St. Augustine began to record the sacraments—baptism, marriage, burials—in separate sets of books for whites and for non-whites (pardos y morenos y indios). The books of the St. Augustine parish, however, did not employ the variety of terms indicating fractional racial mixture that were used in Central and South America. In addition to "Indian" and "black," "mestizo" (of Indian and white ancestry) and "mulatto" (of black and white ancestry) appeared in the St. Augustine records with few additional terms. During the course of a lifetime a person of non-white or mixed ancestry might be described with different terms by the same recorder. The members of the Ribera family appear as Indians in some entries, as mestizos in others, and in still other with no racial

identification, which implied a white person, even when it was the same priest signing the seemingly contradictory entries. The inconsistencies cannot be attributed merely to carelessness or mental lapses on the part of the priests for such practices have been noted in other areas of colonial Latin America.

Throughout Latin America, even to modern times, terms that denote racial identification have been applied to individuals with fluidity, the terms being contingent upon the benefits to either the recorder and/or the subject. Thus in Latin America the same individual might be named even by the same recorder as an Indian in one instance and a mestizo in another, depending on the circumstances. Conversely in much of Anglo America the ambiguity of intermediate identity was avoided by the practice of what anthropologist Marvin Harris calls "hypo-descent:" identification with a racially subordinate ancestor rather than with one of the superordinate group. Identification with "whiteness" was, however, still beneficial in Latin America. Marriage records tended to list the marital parties in racial terms that narrowed the social distance. Thus the union between an Indian and a Caucasian might be recorded in the books of white marriages with the Indian's racial identity "lightened" to the category of mestizo. Historian Patricia Seed found such occurrences in her analysis of mid-eighteenth century parish and census records from Mexico City. Seed's study offers insight into the interracial relationships, which were also interpersonal relationships, in St. Augustine.

Additionally her work suggests possible explanations for the documentary inconsistencies in St. Augustine's records.⁵⁵

The treatment of Antonio de la Cruz Ribera and his children is particularly interesting. In May 1756, when Ribera married Rosa María de Angulo, a woman of an established St. Augustine creole family, Father Juan José de Solana entered the record of their nuptials in the book of white marriages; the priest made no reference to Ribera's racial background, implying white. Thus was the social distance narrowed in the records. The earlier marriage of Antonio's brother, Francisco Xavier, to a white woman was recorded in the same manner. At the baptism of the former couple's firstborn in January 1758, Father Solana again registered the event in the book for whites. But the following January, Father Solana recorded the baptism of the Riberas' second son in the book of non-whites and furthermore identified Antonio Ribera as a mestizo. In March 1761 the record of the baptism of the Riberas' third son was entered in the book of whites. Perhaps the complexion or appearance of the individual babies influenced the decisions.

But there is another scenario that illustrates the presence in St. Augustine of the same attitudes and practices identified by Seed for Mexico. Father Solana probably chose to record the marriage in the book of whites in consideration for the respectable birth family of Rosa María de Angulo and the same sentiment was at work at the time of the first child's baptism. By the time that Ildefonso, the second son, was born a strong animosity existed

between Father Solana and Governor Palacio, the latter having married into the family of the baby's mother. Solana found the governor lacking in his religious behavior and selfish and remiss in carrying out the responsibilities of office and reported these opinions to officials in Cuba any number of times.⁶⁶ In the honor-oriented society of the colonial Spanish world the baptism of the tiny Ribera boy offered Father Solana an opportunity for a more subtle and enduring slight than direct criticism of the governor. The priest could gleefully dishonor the colony's highest official by recording the governor's kinship with racially inferior relatives. The baptismal record of two-days-old Ildefonso Ribera became the weapon. By 1761 a different priest entered the baptism of the couple's third child in the book of white baptisms. By then, however, Father Solana was no longer serving the St. Augustine parish, having fled to Cuba to avoid arrest at the orders of Governor Palacio. And in the finality and singularity of burial, Antonio Ribera came full circle in the Church documents, back to his identity as an Indian.⁶⁷

Conclusions

The recognition of the activities and roles of Indian families such as the de la Cruz-Ribera group or the families formed by Agustina Pérez and her two husbands introduces a new perspective into the history of Spanish Florida and the colonial southeast. The institutional structures that kept St. Augustine society so conservative and ordered also provided the scaffolding for

adventurous and enterprising Indians to become citizens of the town, not just residents. These families penetrated St. Augustine society through fictive kinship (godparental relationships) and corporate and commercial connections. Certainly the opportunity to move into the cash economy through military enlistment provided the means to advance socially and materially. Members of the Ribera-de la Cruz family had acquired enough worldly goods to make wills necessary in order to direct the disposition of their possessions, and they had sufficient funds to pay the government notaries to compose the wills.⁵⁶ While it is doubtful that they were fully integrated into the society of St. Augustine, these Indian families illustrate that their participation in the town's social and economic life was not as constrained and opportunities were not as foreclosed as previously thought.

In Spanish Florida, some Natives were able to take advantage of the labor and defensive needs to insert themselves into the mainstream economy: the defense budget. In the process they lost their Indian identity in the documents. Usually their racial classification was first lightened to mestizo and with incorporation into the army a military or occupational designation replaced the racial one. These same individuals declared themselves full-fledged parishioners of the St. Augustine church and were listed by the secular priests and no longer ministered to by Franciscans priests and counted as mission villagers and wards of the crown.⁵⁸ Regular and secular clergy argued over the status of Indians, which was in fact a conflict over

control and authority over a clientele. For the Natives, becoming a parishioner was part of the process toward full citizenship, being a vecino. The natives who received a plaza in the garrison were paid as any other cavalryman, pilot, or artilleryman and were not dependent upon royal charity. They were sui juris and no longer children or incompetents under the law nor under the Franciscans. Every Native American who became a vecino diminished the influence of the friars.

Spanish Florida had looked to non-whites for fighting men for many years. It has already been mentioned that the Spanish governor activated an Indian militia in the light of Cromwell's Western Design.⁶⁰ In 1683 blacks and mulattoes were organized into their own militia—before the Spanish Crown would formally institute such a policy in the Caribbean following the Seven Years War.⁶¹

As British Carolina and Georgia burgeoned, Spanish Florida increasingly felt the need for soldiers who were bound by a formalized obligation—more than a militia requirement—and Spain did not adequately deliver fighting men. To oversimplify: Spain now had to pay the going rate for what in former times it could demand.

Recognizing the entry of Indian families into the economic mainstream adds another dimension to the existing view of assimilation of Natives in St. Augustine. Economic integration is much more rapid than cultural amalgamation as Marvin Harris has observed. Thus economic means offer

more rapid integration than do cultural mechanisms. For the Native Americans of Spanish Florida social independence and economic integration went hand in hand when achieved through the primary institutions of the existing society. Not all Indians entered mainstream society in the cultural slipstream of a Spanish or creole male, whether he be husband or father. It was possible for the individual to make the entrée directly, rapidly, and in the individual's own right rather than serving some sort of cultural apprenticeship while attached to a member of the dominant society and culture.

Notes

1. Jane Landers, "Black Society in Spanish St. Augustine," Ph.D. diss. University of Florida, 1988; and Landers, "Traditions of African American Freedom and Community in Colonial Spanish Florida," in David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers, eds., The African American Heritage of Florida (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), 19-25.
2. Daniel H. Usner, Jr., "American Indians in Colonial New Orleans," in Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, eds., Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 106; Almon Wheeler Lauber, Indian Slavery in Colonial Times Within the Present Limits of the United States, (1913, reprint, Williamstown, Mass.: Corner House Publishers, 1970), 130-33; John Donald Duncan, "Indian Slavery," in Bruce Glasrud and Alan M. Smith, Race Relations in British North America, 1607-1783 (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1982), quote on 85.
3. Amy Turner Bushnell, Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1994), 30-31; David J. Weber, The Spanish Frontier in North America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 125.

4. Bushnell, Situado and Sabana, 118, 122, quotes on 122; Leslie Bethell, ed. Cambridge History of Latin America (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984)1: 220-21
5. John E. Worth, The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997)1:213; John H. Hann, A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 192, 261-5. Hann asserts that the Timucua bore the full brunt of a series of epidemics from 1614-17 by virtue of their close contact with the pathogen-carrying Spanish Floridians. He claims that the disappearance of a substantial portion of the Timucua population was an important motivator for extension of the missions into Apalachee.
6. Bushnell, Situado and Sabana, 129-31, quote on 129; J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1971), 44-45.
7. Converse D. Clowse, Economic Beginnings in Colonial South Carolina (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 65-66.
8. Wright, Anglo-Spanish Rivalry, 56.
9. Wright, Anglo-Spanish Rivalry, 58.
10. Charles W. Arnade, The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1959), quote on 8. Arnade's monograph is the most complete account of the siege from the Spanish perspective.
11. John H. Hann, Apalachee. The Land Between the Rivers (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1988), 281-83. Chapter 12 discusses the discrepancies in the reports of number of slaves captured.
12. John H. Hann "St. Augustine's Fallout from the Yamassee War," Florida Historical Quarterly 68 (1989):186.
13. Governor and Other Officials to King, St. Augustine, 1715 November 28, Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI) Johns B. Stetson Collection (hereafter SC) P. K. Yonge Library of Florida, 58-1-30/44 (microfilm copies in Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board collection [HSAPB]).
14. Governor of Florida, 1716 April 23, AGI SC 58-1-30/57.
15. Genaro García, Relación de los trabajos que la gente de una nao llamada Nra. Señora de la Merced padeció y de algunas cosas que en aquella flota sucedieron, escrita por Fray Andrés de San Miguel, publicada

por primera vez por Genaro García (Mexico: Casa de F. Aguilar Vera y Compañía, 1902), 205-06.

16. Governor Diego Quiroga y Losada to Crown, 1693 April 24, AGI SC 54-5-15/693; John H. Hann [trans.], "Apalachee Counterfeiters in St. Augustine," Florida Historical Quarterly 67 (1988): 59-60.

17. Royal Officials to Crown, 1696 April 20, AGI SC 54-5-15/114; Baptism of Francisco, mulatto son of Juan de los Gasdos, slave of Adjutant Gerónimo Regidor and Marta María, a naboría, 1702 November 18, Cathedral Parish Records (hereafter CPR), Diocesan Center, Mandarin, Florida (microfilm copies at St. Augustine Historical Society).

18. Mario Góngora, Studies in the Colonial History of Spanish America, Richard Southern, trans. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 161-2.,

19. Petition of Agustín Guillermo de Fuentes y Herrera, 1734 April 29, AGI SC 86-7-21/6.

20. Hann, "St. Augustine's Fallout from the Yamasee War," 194.

21. Manuel de Montiano Letterbook, 1740 January 31, Bundle 37 (hereafter Bnd.), no.180, East Florida Papers (hereafter EFP), Library of Congress Manuscript Collection (microfilm copies at St. Augustine Historical Society, Pablo Castelló, "Plano del presidio de San Agustín de la Florida y sus contornos . . ." 1763 July 21. Library of Congress (original in the Spanish Ministry of War, LM 8a-1a), map # 30, HSAPB.

22. Alonso Las Alas spoke of the villages of Yoa and Tolomate along Sapelo and St. Catherine's sounds in his testimony of September 12, 1600. Charles W. Arnade, Florida on Trial, 1593-1602 (Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press, 1959), 16; David Hurst Thomas, St. Catherine's: An Island in Time (Atlanta: Georgia Endowment for the Humanities, 1988), 17. Hurst is not convinced that the subsequent fort's location was the mission site.

23. Robert Allan Matter, "The Spanish Missions of Florida: The Friars Versus the Governors in the 'Golden Age,' 1606-1690." (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1972), 106; Michael V. Gannon, The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1961), 64.

24. James W. Covington, "Migration of the Seminoles into Florida, 1700-1820," Florida Historical Quarterly 46 (1968): 340-57.

25. John K. Mahon and Brent R. Weisman, "Florida's Seminole and Missoukkee Peoples," in Gannon, ed., The New History of Florida, 186-88, quote on 187.

26. Harry A. Kersey, Jr., The Seminole and Miccosukee Tribes: A Critical Bibliography (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 1-2. Several scholars disagree with this sequence of evolution of the name.

27. Robert L. Gold, Borderland Empires in Transition: The Triple-Nation Transfer of Florida (Carbondale & Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969), 67.

28. Statement of Pedro Tomás de Ribera, 1745 February 9, AGI Santo Domingo (hereafter SD) 842 (microfilm copies at Yonge Library).

29. I have placed a different family on this site than the one selected by Kathleen Deagan in her archaeological excavations. Deagan identified the mestizo family of María Sebastiana de la Cruz and José Gallardo with this site, but a better argument can be made for locating the Indian family of another María de la Cruz and her husband, Pedro Tomás de Ribera, there. There were several women by the name of María de la Cruz who appear in the parish records during the pertinent time period. The biographical cards at the St. Augustine Historical Society, which were probably the source of information about María de la Cruz, did not and still do not include the parish records of non-whites. Thus the existence of the Indian, rather than mixed, family which I place on the site was not a possibility offered to Deagan.

Both de la Puente's map and transfer of parcel #51 to Samuel Piles in July 1764 refer to the "heirs of María de la Cruz" as the evacuating owner. María, wife of Pedro Tomás de Ribera, had died shortly before the evacuation and there was no time for the disposition of her estate, hence the notation on the map as belonging to her heirs. A woman by the name of María Sebastiana de la Cruz owned a house and lot on today's Tolomato Lane (de la Puente #28) and there is no record of her death before the evacuation. Juan José Elixio de la Puente, "Plano de la real fuerza, baluartes y linea de la Plaza de San Agustín," 1764 January 22, parcel #51; Deagan, "Sex, Status and Role of Mestizaje," Kathleen Deagan, Spanish St. Augustine: The Archaeology of a Colonial Creole Community (Orlando: Academic Press, 1983); Burial of María de la Cruz, 1763 June 3, CPR (non-whites). After 1735 separate books were kept for whites and non-whites. Following the practice of the colonial recorders, the term "non-whites" is used to indicate such books. No racial term either indicates the books for whites, after 1735, or the racially unseparated books before 1735.

30. Eligio de la Puente map, lot #51; Claims for Town Lots, Spanish Land Grants Manuscript Collection, Florida Department of State, Division of Historical Resources; Deagan, Spanish St. Augustine, 108.
31. Jane Landers, "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose: A Free Black Town in Spanish Colonial Florida," American Historical Review 95 pp. 28 & 29 in SAHS booklet.
32. Statement of Pedro Tomás de Ribera, 1745 February 9, AGI SD 846.
33. Burial of Pedro Tomás de Ribera, 1746 January 13; burial of a small child of Tomás Ribera, soldier of this presidio, and of María de la Cruz, 1737 December 19, CPR, (non-whites).
34. Burial of María Ignacia [Morente], 1749 February 5, CPR.
35. Burials, CPR (non-whites).
36. Estate of Juan de Ribera, Testamentary Proceedings, EFP.
37. Estate of Juan de Ribera; see A. J. R. Russell-Wood, "Prestige, Power and Piety in Colonial Brazil: The Third Orders of Salvador," Hispanic American Historical Review 69 (1989), for a discussion of third orders, especially 78-87.
38. Deagan, Spanish St. Augustine, 104.
39. Baptism of María Barba, 1738 April 16; marriage of María de los Dolores Barba to Francisco Xavier de Ribera, 1756 August 2, CPR.
40. Governor Palacio, a knight, was a widower when he married Josefa de Escovedo.
41. House of Agustina Pérez (Eligio de la Puente map #62).
42. Petition of Francisco Jospogue, 1728 October with transmittal correspondence dated 1734 January 12, AGI SC 86-7-21/5 (hereafter Jospogue petition).
43. This information is included in listing of available ports from St. Augustine in Santa Elena described by Bartolomé Arguelles in September 1602. See Charles W. Arnade, Florida on Trial (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1959), 47.
44. Jospogue Petition; Council of the Indies, Madrid, 1716 January 8, AGI SC 58-1-24/18.

45. Wright, Anglo-Spanish Rivalry, 56.

46. Cacique Tospe [sic] was described as a speaker of the Yamasee language. Hann, "St. Augustine's Fallout," 185; Statement of Governor José de Zúñiga, 1702 [sic] January 11 in Jospogue Petition.

47. Marriage of Francisca Xaviela Pérez to Lorenzo de Selva, 1747 October 30; Statement of Governor José de Zúñiga, 1702 [sic] January 11, in Jospogue Petition; Miguel Jospo was fifteen years old at his death in January 1744, giving him a 1728 birth date. Burial of Miguel Jospo, 1744 January 3; burial of a small nameless child of Juan de Fuentes and Agustina [Pérez], 1751 August 7, CPR (non-whites).

48. Will of Gerónima Rodríguez states that her southern neighbors are "the heirs of Francisco Jospo," 1737 February 14, Claim of Juana Navarro, Bundle 359, EFP; Marriage of Juan de Fuentes and Agustina Pérez, 1738 June 12, CPR (non-whites).

49. Burial of Juana [de Fuentes], 1741 August 3, CRP (non-whites); Francisco Jospogue had requested that his pension be passed to his heirs. Jospogue Petition; Don José Antonio Gelabert to the Crown, General list of all who serve and are paid by the king at the presidio of San Agustín, 1752, Havana, AGI SC 87-1-14/2; Statement of Juan José de Fuentes, 1745 February 9, AGI SD 846; Juan José Eligio de la Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, 1770 January 27, AGI SC 87-1-5/4; statement of Juan José de Fuentes, 1745 February 5, AGI SD 846.

50. Statement of Juan José de Fuentes, 1745 February 9, AGI SD 846; John Jay TePaske, The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700-1763 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1964), 175.77.

51. Marriage of Crespín Francisco Díaz and María Antonia Jospo, 1750 July 1: Don Gerónimo de Hita and his wife, Juan de Averó, sponsored the marriage of Agustina's sister, María Solana, marriage of Juan Mateo Muñoz and María Solana, 1747 March 13, CPR (non-whites).

52. George Foster, Hugo Nutini and Betty Bell, Sidney Mintz and Eric Wolfe noted flexibility and regional variations, but agreed on the importance of the relationship among compadres.

53. Marriage of Lorenzo de Selva and Francisca Xaviela Pérez, 1747 October 30; baptism of Juana [de Fuentes], 1741 August 3, CPR (non-whites).

54. Don José Antonio Gelabert to the Crown, General list of all who serve and are paid by the king at the presidio of San Agustín, 1752, Havana, AGI SC 87-1-14/2; baptism of María Catalina Gómez, 1754 March 11, CPR; Eligio de la Puente map, parcel #173.

55. Marvin Harris, Patterns of Race in the Americas (New York: Walker and Company, 1964), 54-58; Patricia Seed, "Social Dimensions of Race: Mexico City, 1753," Hispanic American Historical Review 62 (1982): 569-606.

56. Robert Kaptizke, "The 'Calamities of Florida': Father Solana, Governor Palacio y Valenzuela and the Desertions of 1756," Florida Historical Quarterly 62 (1993): 1-18.

57. Baptism of Josefa María de los Dolores Ribera, 1761 March 14, burial of Antonio de la Cruz Ribera, 1763 July 19, CPR (non-whites); Kaptizke, "Calamities of Florida," 16-17.

58. Burial of María de la Cruz, 1763 June 3; burial of Antonio de la Cruz Ribera, 1763 June 19, CPR (non-whites).

59. Statements, 1745 February-April, AGI SD 846.

60. "Western Design" (1654-6) was the term used by England's Oliver Cromwell for his expedition aimed at seizing important points in the West Indies from which Spanish America might be placed at his mercy. The successful seizure of Jamaica gave England a major naval base in the Caribbean from which to attack Spanish and French colonies.

61. Jane Landers, "Fort Mose: Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose: A Free Black Town in Spanish Colonial Florida," American Historical Review 95 (1990): 9-30.

CHAPTER 4 ARCHITECTURE

The Spanish consulted convenience
more than taste in their buildings.

—William Stork, 1765

Spanish residents and officials of Florida were able to pack up their possessions and important papers both times they departed the colony, 1763 and 1821. But the buildings where they ate and slept, transacted business, loved, grieved, and made their plans stayed in the Florida peninsula and panhandle. When British subjects evacuated Florida in 1784, many dismantled their buildings to transport for reconstruction in new locations, but there are no reports of the Spanish doing likewise at either evacuation.¹

The buildings left behind became the most notable and durable vestige of Spanish presence in the southeast—a vestige that was at times misunderstood and misinterpreted by contemporary non-Spanish observers and then repeated by generations to come. In the attempt to reconcile the status of St. Augustine's sixteenth-century beginnings with the remnant physical evidence extant in later centuries, writers both ingenuous and ingenious, historical and otherwise, attributed age to structures which in fact

were much younger; they either overlooked or perhaps were unaware of the almost total destruction of the city in 1702.²

Albert Manucy's The Houses of St. Augustine, first published in 1962, is the seminal, enduring, and standard analysis of the Euro-American architecture of Spanish Florida.³ Manucy's pioneering work emphasizes and relies upon late colonial structures; that is, the era for which the most documentary information is available. More extant examples originated in the second Spanish period than in the first, and those that did remain from before the 1763 evacuation were altered and enlarged by subsequent British and Spanish residents. Because this study focuses on the period for which less field data were available, it is less accepting of assertions in The Houses of St. Augustine than many previous studies have been and offers refinements to Manucy's work for the years of the second Spanish century.

Decades later in 1997, looking back to the even earlier, founding days, Manucy produced Sixteenth-Century St. Augustine to provide an architectural picture of a now-invisible period.⁴ Seventeenth-century buildings remain the most unknown of all although they succeeded the founding-era Euro-American buildings. Anthropologist Kathleen Hoffman recently provided the most descriptive assessment to date of the structures of the 1600s, based largely on archaeological remnants. Hoffman found that post molds offered evidence of wood-frame buildings. Narrative descriptions from the 1600s were few and a dearth of inventories for what Hoffman denominates the

"middle period" limits data as well. What descriptions may be available for the 1600s are characteristically less detailed than those for the eighteenth century. In a succinct valuation in 1681 of Governor Pablo de Hita y Salazar's new private home, the appraising mason and carpenter reported two buildings about 17 feet in height (6 varas) on a waterfront lot, constructed primarily of wood and incorporating a small amount of masonry.⁵

By the middle of the eighteenth century appraisals articulated building materials by unit sizes and number of items, as a mathematical and engineering perspective came to prevail. But with regard to modern field work, most architecture from the first half of the eighteenth century had disappeared by the time of Manucy's investigations or had been altered and masked by years of use and accommodation to the needs of occupants.⁶

This study brings to the analysis of architecture in Spanish Florida the concept of several and successive Iberian regional cultures rather than a single Spanish cultural tradition. In the second Spanish century the influx of new soldiers and accompanying influence from additional Iberian regions provoked change. This study also looks to previously unexamined individual-level documents to present a functional analysis of building space and of building components. It enables a look at the attributes and use of upper levels and also provides descriptions of the exterior, which are difficult to discern in the archaeological record.

New Men, New Iberian Regional Traditions

Florida's buildings in 1763 were different creatures than those in 1565, despite the implication of the idea of a "first-Spanish-period" architecture. Developments in architecture in Spanish Florida should be seen as a product of physical and cultural forces rather than predictable stages in a deterministic architectural metamorphosis. Developments and changes in the architecture of Spanish St. Augustine have been viewed from an almost Darwinian evolutionary perspective. That is, an assumption that the changes from earthen structures to wooden and then to masonry represented an ever improving course. This is a presentist, antiquarian and heritage-oriented view which assigns disproportionate importance to durability and longevity. Because a building still stands for our use, observation and enjoyment today, we too often narcissistically assume that its endurance represents the desiderata of its creators as well. In this evolutionary perspective, the changes in choice of construction materials has been attributed to determined choices by supposedly ever more astute and prescient residents. Changing to building with masonry over wood has been adjudged as intentional progress. Other, non-linear factors have not entered the analysis. Yet, when addressing motive and intent of persons in the past, we would do well to heed Barbara Tuchman's admonition that "history is the unfolding of miscalculations."

Cultural considerations and differences among the Spanish colonists regarding building construction in Florida and use of materials have received little attention. David Weber with his view as wide as the borderlands, however, recognized that "Spanish-built homes in North America resembled those of different regions of Spain."⁷ Paradoxically, the preference by the British inhabitants for wood upon their acquisition of Florida after two centuries of Spanish building developments has not generally been seen as regressive. Yet the British choice of wood over stone contradicts the assessment that the Spanish residents' turn toward stone be judged as a move up the architectural evolutionary ladder. Use of wood by the British is portrayed as a decision to employ familiar cultural elements while use of wood by the Spanish is seen as a manifestation of a materially pitiful locale (see Chapters 6 and 7).

The turn toward masonry structures in Florida was fueled by several contemporaneous changes. It has long been accepted that for more than a century after settlement by Europeans, Florida's town residents constructed their buildings of wattle and daub or of wood. Residents with a minimum of economic resources turned to buildings of wattle and daub. In supposed imitation of the Native Americans, the builders employed the technique of pressing an earthen mixture into a framework, woven of supple poles or reeds. Lightweight roofs of either palm fronds or of some strawlike material

topped these structures. Constructing such buildings required simple technological skills and few tools.

The use of wattle and daub in the founding period has generally been viewed as the Spaniards' imitation or appropriation of Native styles. With landfall Méndez quickly commandeered Timucuan Chief Seloy's building and assigned his men to convert part of the village into a fort for defense against feared French assaults. Manucy reasonably concludes that the settlers "became familiar with Indian structures" and that mimicking of Native housing took place. This conclusion, however, evidences a Eurocentric viewpoint that Native techniques were adopted out of necessity and by default as a stopgap rather than asking whether the arriving settlers gravitated toward a variation of what was familiar. Yet the Asturian settlers might have felt somewhat comfortable with the Timucuan structures which they encountered on the Florida coast, for there were similar structures in their Iberian homeland. Circular folk structures roofed with straw still persisted in Asturias as recently as the years just prior to the Spanish Civil War (1936-39).⁸

Wood was the material of choice for the more substantial and higher-status buildings of Florida's early years. The use of wood could very well have been a determined choice to rely on timber rather than the local shellstone. Manucy claims that the "early builders in Florida did not have stone to work with," yet by 1580 Florida residents were aware of and even had constructed at least one building of coquina.⁹ The reliance upon wooden

structures was the product of the happy occurrence of settlement in an area which could provide plenty of the construction material which was the primary fabric of the arriving settlers' building tradition. The leading first settlers, hailing from wooded areas of the northwestern Iberian peninsula, brought with them a tradition of building with timber. The members of Menéndez's Florida-bound coterie departed from a region where most of the houses were still of wood. Constantino Cabal's study of popular housing or "vernacular architecture" in Asturias asserted that in the middle of the sixteenth century (1540) the majority of houses were made of board (*de tabla*).¹⁰ Florida's forests enabled the early settlers to replicate the fabric as well as the style of the homes of the land that they left behind.

Even the buildings used by the highest officials were made of wood. A circa 1595 drawing of St. Augustine depicts structures of vertical boards for the governor's house and the church. The roofs were of planks as well. But it was the weaponry rather than the buildings which were important to the inhabitants, or perhaps in this case to the "artist" passing through St. Augustine. The cannon placed in the openings of the guardhouse were drawn with more care than the buildings. The cannon were presented with a three-dimensional appearance while the buildings more resembled a two-dimensional child's drawing. The attention to storage barrels was also disproportionate. This focus parallels the relative depiction of the structures and artillery at Santa Elena. Therein, the handles on the cannon were

elaborated while the buildings received little concern.¹¹ Buildings were in effect available locally and thus inexpensive. Buildings could be fashioned from resources near the settlements while cannon had to be transported from Spain, where the foundries were located. Distance and the locus of technology elsewhere made the weaponry expensive and important, and by default made for an uneven graphic portrayal of the colony.

Governor Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo relocated the executive residence in St. Augustine from the waterfront to a more inland lot when he purchased a wooden house from María de Pomar. After making improvements and additions, Mendez de Canzo sold his homesite to the Crown "at a bankruptcy price" (in his opinion) when he departed Florida for his next tour of duty. Méndez de Canzo's upgrades were of wood, except for the replacement of a palm thatch roof with flat roof (azotea), a sealant coat of tabby over planking.¹²

Although use of wattle and daub persisted throughout the seventeenth century, it became less prevalent. "Board walls became increasingly numerous up to the wholesale destruction of the 1702 siege." concluded Albert Manucy. Then, he says, over the next half century (1700-50) masonry became the principal building material.¹³

Changes in St. Augustine's buildings were brought about by a combination of factors—technical, economic, social and cultural: the availability of trained craftsmen and construction material, more money and

credit, and the influence of new cultural elements in the population. The impetus for the turn toward masonry structures was fed by the release to the public of the local shellstone into a scenario which provided a cadre of craftsmen who had been trained to work with the shellstone during the construction of the Castillo de San Marcos. Governor Manuel de Cendoya imported fifteen skilled workers--masons, stonecutters and lime burners--from Cuba in 1671 to work on the proposed masonry fortification, begun the following year. Others learned the skills in Florida, as demonstrated by the predominance of Native American and African slave craftsmen in building a new governor's residence in 1690.¹⁴

Fear of widespread destruction by fire following the 1702 siege and the enemy's purposely ignited conflagration has been considered the primary motivating factor for the change in material, especially the turning away from flammable material. But here again, hindsight takes on a deterministic character in historical analyses. Because the change in building materials took place largely in the years following the 1702 razing, it has been concluded that it was the English-set inferno which instilled a pervasive fear of fire in the community and the preventive action of building with masonry. Why would the residents wait until after 1702 to prevent fire when it had always been a threat? Francis Drake burned the town in 1586, fire consumed important buildings in 1599, and fire certainly deprived colonists of their homes in random and intermittent individual tragedies.¹⁵ Yet masonry

buildings did not spring up after these events. Even if coquina were not readily available for private use, the material for tabby masonry certainly abounded in the oysterbeds in tidal creeks and in nearby shellmounds created in earlier millennia.

Historians Luis and Eugenia Arana state that the 1702 destruction "cut short" masonry construction rather than serving as the impetus for turning to shellstone. The Aranas attribute the turn to masonry construction to more money entering the colony in the last third of the seventeenth century and the ability of the residents to build on credit. Royal policy permitted soldiers to pledge their salaries to finance new structures.¹⁶

Cultural traditions were at work as well. The influence of a substantial number of arrivals from Iberian regions where masonry construction prevailed prompted a preference for masonry instead of wood as much as did pragmatic concerns and local events. The soldiers who began arriving in 1680 after decades of no new troops and thus no immigrating residents were largely natives of Castilla and Andalucia.¹⁷ The aridity of these areas of Iberia did not nurture forests, and masonry construction in those areas was if nothing else a default choice. Leopoldo Torres Balbás described the situation in Andalusia as "construction materials are stone, in the form of rubble (mampostería) for the most part The arboreal vegetation is scarce and wood for building is scarce and poor."¹⁸

When English expeditionaries kindled St. Augustine and the missions in 1702 and 1704, the invaders accelerated the incorporation of the arriving architectural notions and practices. The town's ashen earth presented a physical tabula rasa as a stage for the building traditions arriving with new soldiers.¹⁹ The incorporation of arriving architectural traditions did not have to await the need for a repair or for an addition to what was already in place. New architectural ways neither blended with nor competed with the old. The destruction wrought by the 1702 siege provided an empty and yet fertile arena for new materials and styles in architecture.

Buildings as Detailed by Those Who Knew Them Best

Individual-level appraisals and inventories available from the first half of the eighteenth century were overseen and perhaps contributed by the owners and residents of the buildings themselves. Details were set forth in those documents that town-wide sources did not include. Such specifics make it possible to ascertain or at least reasonably to infer use and perhaps even the level of comfort of the spaces.

The Eligio de la Puente map of 1764 of St. Augustine provides standardized information about property ownership, building materials, and lot size throughout the entire town. Eligio did not, however, include information on building size or for outbuildings. For his purposes in the role of real estate agent, the latter sort of information might have been superfluous.²⁰ Although

Eligio recorded only simple measurements of length and width, lots were sometimes trapezoidal as blocks widened between their extremes. Some lots surely included jogs and irregularities as the property lines on de la Rocque's 1788 map depict. The succinct measurements given for length and width of parcels in both of the aforementioned maps, however, allows for later reconstruction of only rectangular lots. Pablo Castelló's map, contemporary with that of Eligio, depicted St. Augustine with the eye of the mathematician and engineer for detail, including outbuildings, gardens and fields, but it did not include measurements and building materials.²¹

Much of the picture we have of the Spanish capital has relied upon the observations and writings of visitors. The information was often spritely and entertaining, for the visitor tended to comment upon that which was unusual from his perspective. The generic, common and prosaic were absent while cultural bias pervaded the descriptions, as seen in William Stork's remark that Spanish buildings gave more consideration to convenience than to taste.²²

Conversely, those most familiar with the structures left us little narrative description. Tedious probate inventories and other official papers are the only record we have from the Spanish residents who actually walked in and out of the buildings, who supervised the construction, alterations, and repairs. The persons who used the doors and windows that they evaluated left us little more than brief itemizations and costs, not phrases about decoration and pleasing proportions. They saw no reason to do more. Yet they did in fact tell

us more about their houses than was explicit in the list of elements. For example, when an occupant described a door specifically as the "door between the bedroom and the shop," the use of space was made apparent.²³

The appraisals of ten private stone buildings constructed in the first half of the eighteenth century provide a picture of Florida's substantial city structures and their attendant secondary buildings. Father Juan José Solana wrote in 1760 that there were 303 buildings in St. Augustine; stone buildings comprised 49 or about one-sixth of the buildings. He reported that among those stone structures, the kind of roofing material was about evenly distributed: 23 of stone and flat roofs, 26 of boards and shingles.²⁴ Based on Solana's figures, the available appraisals describe about twenty percent of the stone buildings. Private buildings in the town made of other materials do not appear in the available appraisals, except for wooden kitchens or other workspaces, such as washhouses, which were secondary to and associated with a primary stone building.

The probate of the property of Diego de Espinosa on St. Augustine's waterfront provides the most detailed description of buildings, use of space within the buildings, and the relationship of rooms to one another. The few other available contemporary probate proceedings did not include accountings which were as detailed as these. The entries in the appraisal of Espinosa's estate were surely scrutinized closely by those who knew the buildings the best: his widow and four children. The "cross" mark of his widow

Josefa de Torres, who did not know how to write, vouched for the information. Because the buildings would not be transferred to all the heirs, careful attention was called for in order to assure fair distribution of the value of assets. Thus one child received livestock or slaves rather than real estate; the price of a calf turned over to one child might well offset the value assigned to a door or roof in a building acquired by a sibling.²⁵

Three primary masonry buildings stood on Espinosa's property when he died in May 1756: the main house (casa grande) and its kitchen, the house with the tabby roof (casa de azotea) and the small house on the waterfront (casa chica de la marina). Espinosa's holdings occupied lots on both sides of today's Charlotte Street. The two-story main house on the west side of the street with approximately 800 square feet (98 [square] varas) per floor served as the living quarters for Espinosa and his wife.²⁶ The exterior and some interior walls were of masonry. A low-pitched roof of wooden shingles covered the building.²⁷ Tabique (thin-wall masonry) divided the interior space into rooms; there were also partition walls built of boards. A dining room and an apartment (or bedroom) occupied the ground floor with a doorway joining the two rooms. The rooms also had other doors opening to the outside for independent access. Three windows admitted breezes and light into the apartment. Upstairs were another bedroom and a drawing room or salon (sala).²⁸ From a small balcony on the back of the house the

Espinosas could enjoy the land breeze (puerta del terral y el balconcito). A larger balcony overhung the street.

The one-story, tabby-roof house was situated at a street corner. With its six, ground-level rooms, it covered a large area.²⁹ The northwest corner of the building also formed the street corner. The building could be accessed by several doors opening to the streets. At the corner were double doors; there were other doors opening to the street as well. And there was a large door or gate on the street. The building was divided into an entryway, a shop and a storeroom, a dining room, a parlor and two bedrooms.

Espinosa's two-story building directly on the waterfront had shellstone exterior walls honed to a Spanish foot in thickness (a tercia: 11 inches). Tabby also composed a portion of the east side of the building in the only example describing a combination of the local cement material and the hewn stone. Perhaps an originally open-ended space was later walled in and the use of tabby cement was easier than joining cut shellstone blocks. Although this structure was located nearest to the waterfront, there was no mention of its use for storage of goods offloaded from boats. A bedroom and parlor occupied the lower floor, with the bedroom opening onto a patio. The appraisal suggests that there were two patios, one serving the bedroom and another on the waterfront. Doors were listed for the patio del aposento and patio de la marina. Upstairs a balcony offered an outside space. The

appraisal does not specify the use of the upstairs rooms. On the east side were thin-wall arches or buttresses and a coquina wall.

Each of the three main buildings of the Espinosa compound had its own kitchen with a fence around the kitchen yard. The kitchen of the main house was built of coquina, displaying an unusual expenditure for utilitarian, secondary space. The oven in this kitchen was also of coquina with no other kinds of masonry, such as bricks, listed for the baking chamber. There were no references to a hearth or fireplace, which might have been used for cooking. Any breezes circulating through the two doors and small window were no doubt most welcome.³⁰ The roof was of masonry (tabby) as well. A round table and a dozen chairs were inside the kitchen. Perhaps the kitchen building was used for storing extra seating or maybe workers and servants ate in the building. Because flooring usually appears in the evaluations, its absence from the appraisal suggests that the kitchen's floor was merely dirt. Yet an earthen floor seems incongruous with the investment in the rest of the kitchen building. Tabby flooring is listed for the main house, the waterfront building, and the tabby-roof building, the last building containing the shop and storeroom. The kitchens for the tabby-roof house and waterfront house were built of wood, apparently without hearths or ovens, and each surrounded by a wooden fence. The inventory included additional coquina blocks of varying sizes and the lime to make the mortar to hold them together, which were located in the yard of the main house when Espinosa died.

Next door to Espinosa's waterfront property, Antonio Rodríguez Arrián owned three buildings. A two-story masonry building with a shingle roof occupied a small waterfront site. Rodríguez claimed only 24 feet (9 varas) along the waterfront in connection with this building. The larger measurement of his lot at 38 feet (14 varas) equaled what was commonly the smaller dimension of town lots. Fourteen and fifteen varas of street frontage was common in St. Augustine and was usually the smaller of a lot's dimensions rather than the greater (see Chapter 5). The importance and value of an entree on to the waterfront possibly offset or compensated for the small size of the plot or perhaps it was merely a division of the larger parcel.³¹

Two sets of wooden stairs offered access to the upper floor. The back landing (entresuelo último) featured two small windows for sight, light, and air. The upstairs living area had windows with glass panes, but only glassless apertures on the lower floor.

Another of Rodríguez's buildings faced a principal street (today's Charlotte Street) which paralleled the waterfront. Also a two-story stone structure, it housed a shop and storeroom on the ground floor. The roof over the main part of the house and the dining room was composed of wood shingles of varying widths (ancho de varia). Again, a large balcony overhung the street and a small balcony provided a more private space on the back of the house. The main stairway held landings for the parlor and a bedroom. Another upper room was accessed by its own stairway. This room had a

tabby roof and a door leading to the flat masonry roof. The difference in roof material suggests that the entire building was not constructed at the same time. On the back of the building, there was also a third staircase, enclosed and with a window. Rooms with separate entries lent themselves to use by tenants or to more autonomy and independence for family members. A forlorn cuckold, Onofre de Argüelles, reported in the 1730s that his wife occupied a garret space in their home and came and went as she pleased in the evenings when she visited her paramour and cooked her lover's dinner while the husband sat home alone and hungry.³²

The shop and its storeroom must have been stuffy with only one window, but perhaps the four doors distributed between these two rooms provided fresh air. Stepping into the shop from the street, a customer saw a counter and a cabinet. The shingle-roofed, wooden kitchen boasted its own storeroom.³³

Rodríguez Arfán shared ownership with Juan de Salas of the most impressive structure among his trio of side-by-side buildings.³⁴ The house was constructed of thick stone (based on the assessment of 5 pesos per cubic unit). It was a sizable house and it displayed desired accouterments, especially seventeen glass-paned windows. This house featured an upstairs parlor with two chimneys. A sizable balcony overhung the street, for its length accommodated three windows with glass panes. Ten upstairs windows had glass. Despite its size and embellishments, this building apparently did not

have a second, smaller, and private balcony like several of the other houses appraised. The ground-floor living quarters contained eleven doors. Seven downstairs windows also contained glass. Outside stairs provided access to rooftops on this building, like the building next door. A part of the building was only a single story, implied by the downstairs living quarters having its own shingle roof. Two rooms on the back side of the building each contained a painted built-in armoire with either glass or mirrors in their doors. The room built under the main stairs was probably used for storage. A fence with balustered openings (rejas) surrounded the patio. The kitchen as well had its own chimney with a mantel and also a storage area or pantry

On today's St. George Street stood the building of Joaquín Blanco, who was the supplymaster for the garrison. Blanco might have resided in the house directly across the street rather than in his own building after marrying Antonia de Averó. Blanco's position in the garrison organization would have given him access to goods and connections, yet the inventory of his house did not include some of the niceties found in other buildings. Whether that is by virtue of a more succinct listing or owed to personal preference is not clear.³⁵ There were no glass windows. Considering the value and status of glass windows, absence in the listing surely meant absence in the building. The upstairs living area was covered with a tabby, flat roof. A balcony is listed, but with no amplification about its doors and windows, unlike most of the inventories. His lot contained a washhouse, and like so many others, a

wooden kitchen with a shingled roof. Blanco's appraisal also included fruit trees in the yard.

By 1733 Pedro José Gómez had built his two-story shellstone home near the north entrance to the city—just north of Blanco on today's St. George Street between the city gate and Blanco's house. Gómez's homesite was in the area that during the siege of 1702 had been razed by Spanish soldiers and residents to create a structureless field of fire for cannons and sharpshooters aiming from the gundeck of the Castillo. Overzealous with his construction, Gómez extended his home onto his neighbor's property. The acquisition of the adjacent parcel to cure the encroachment problem gave Gómez a large lot with substantial frontage (35 varas or 95½ feet) on a main street.³⁶ The walls of Gómez's home measured from one-third to one-half vara (11 to 16-1/2 inches) in thickness with the interior stone divisions of both the upper and lower floors measuring one-fourth of a vara in thickness. Tabby served as flooring material for both upper and lower stories. Two balconies adorned the upper story. The larger one overlooked the street, the smaller faced east toward the back yard. In summer the Gómez family could look down upon ripening melons, which they shared with friends.³⁷

Salvador de Porras's two buildings, one next to Espinosa on the waterfront and the other on a lot located between the buildings belonging to Blanco and Gómez on St. George Street, were succinctly described in comparison to the other appraisals.³⁸ At both sites the buildings were of two

stories, but whether specific assets were located on the upper or the lower floor was seldom made clear. Only the reference to a staircase clarified that the St. George Street building had an upper level. Like several other buildings, Porras's waterfront building had roofs both of shingles and of tabby. The dining room was specifically described as having a shingle roof. Porras's house on St. George Street, which his wife brought into the marriage (see Chapter 5), had a wooden room attached. This was the only house which included a well in its inventory. It was probably a barrel well. The masonry wells in the governor's house averaged a value of 27 pesos per well. Perhaps the well at Porras's wife house had a cover, drawing mechanism or decoration of worth which explained a value of 6 pesos.

Absence of itemized wells in the inventories feeds the conclusion that barrel wells provided the water for the buildings described here; there were no wells listed in the masonry sections of the inventories. Masonry wells made from coquina appeared in several sorts of real estate appraisals or other property documents and the absence of wells in appraisals thus implies reliance upon barrel wells. Guardians of orphans, who had to account for funds, listed expenditures for repairing wells with recycled shipping barrels, usually rice barrels, even though no wells had appeared in the post-mortem appraisals for the parents' estates.³⁹

The governor's house in 1763 relied on a dozen masonry wells. Eligio de la Puente's home boasted a scallop-shaped well of coquina.

Archaeologists found that the scallop shape was maintained into the shaft, not just in the well curb. The barely visible shaft continued the scallop shape below grade, at least as far down as the modern watertable. The scallop shell is a popular Hispanic decorative motif and is associated with St. James, the patron saint of Spain and his pilgrimage site of Santiago de Compostela in Galicia. Eligio's family or some other owner expended considerable money or labor to form such an elaborate well.⁴⁰ Although a masonry well seems in keeping with the scope and wealth associated with a compound such as that of Espinosa, the documentation does not declare its existence.

Conclusions

The influx of men from the metropolis that began in the last quarter of the 1600s brought new traditions that revitalized and strengthened the bond between the Florida colony and Iberia. Florida with its financial reliance upon the military funds had always maintained a strong connection with the homeland—more so than most of Spanish America. When officials in both Spain and Great Britain, after the Seven Years War, sought to bring the colonials' attention more toward the respective metropolises, Florida, did not have to be re-oriented toward the mother country as did much of the Americas. It had never strayed much from its Iberian focus because of financial strictures and the influence of the influx of Iberian soldiers beginning in the 1680s had re-directed the focus on the metropolis. Anthropologist

Stanley Bond has stated that through the built environment of Florida's capital, settlers could recognize themselves as Spaniards. But there was no single Spanish built environment during the Second Century. "Spanish" was and is a concept employed by those who observed from a cultural, geographical or temporal distance, not by the colonial participants in this case.⁴¹ Stone buildings reflected the building traditions of the particular regions from which arriving soldiers came, not of Iberia as a whole..

Appraisals and inventories disclose function as well as construction details. Residents in Second-Century St. Augustine blended residential and commercial activities in the same building. Numerous scholars have drawn parallels between urban buildings in English Charleston and Spanish St. Augustine, focusing primarily on climatic factors, but with little attention to functional concerns. Buildings in St. Augustine used both stories of the buildings for private space. At times private space opened onto a commercial area. Upper- or lower- floor location did not seem to be a major factor in whether space was relegated to private or public use.

Generally upper floors were the preferred level for refinements and privacy. Many houses had bedrooms located on both floors. Likewise, parlors might be either upstairs or downstairs, but if there was only one drawing room, it was usually on the upper floor. Window glass was found on both stories as well, but if glass panes appeared on only one level, it was the upper story. The buildings described herein set aside rooms specifically for

commercial use, but private space also occupied ground-floor rooms right next to the shops and storerooms. The dining room for Espinosa's "flat-roof" building shared a wall with the room for the shop. The lone example of an upstairs shop in Porras's waterfront building did not provide many details.

Charleston's role as a primarily commercial town possibly led to more segregation between residential and commercial space. In St. Augustine commercial activities were supportive and auxiliary to the mainstay of the economy—the military budget—and the two sorts of space were not so separated. Bernard Herman noted that for Charleston "the most common solution" was a street-level one-room shop, perhaps with a dining room behind and "best room" and chambers above.⁴² Nor was accessible ground floor space so dear in St. Augustine as in the Charleston context. Shops in Florida used adjacent rooms on the first floor for storage rather than locating the storage area in less valuable space in separate secondary structures.

Rooms in St. Augustine were accessed sometimes from the inside—from other rooms—and almost always from the outside. Doors frequently outnumbered windows. Houses featured several staircases rather than a central stairway, the latter configuration being typical in Charleston.⁴³ Several staircases in the Florida buildings ascended right on up to a masonry roof, suggesting the use of the roofs as outdoor space. Otherwise, time and materials would have not been expended on a permanent access where a ladder would suffice. No stairways were listed which led to wood-shingle

roofs. Masonry roofs which were flat or barely sloped might have been somewhat maladaptive with Florida's substantial rainfall, but a raised outdoor space provided by the flat roof, open to breezes, was surely desirable. Flat roofs used as "living space" in addition to providing protection from the elements might well have been an innovation favored by the men arriving with Andalusian traditions, which themselves exhibited strong Moorish influence as well as similarity to other Mediterranean areas. Perhaps the roofs were a bit ill-advised, but their proponents had not yet moved away from what was familiar in their Iberian home regions.

Balconies provided leisure space and a vantage point. Consistently the larger balcony on a building overhung the street, where one could see and be seen. Consistently the smaller balcony (balconcito) was placed at the back of the house, where it offered privacy and perhaps a garden overlook. None of the balconcitos in the appraisals were streetfront amenities. Balconies allowed occupants maximum control over publically oriented space. Residents could at will enter and exit the balcony which overhung the public space of the street, while permitting no entry by the public. With nightfall, streetfront balconies offered a place for occupants to remain almost undetected while observing passers-by.

The lists did not mention windows with rejas, which functioned much like balconies for unobtrusive observation of the street scene. Windows with rejas have become a distinctive feature of restored and reconstructed

buildings in St. Augustine today. The only mention of grating (rejas) was for openings in the fence associated with the building owned by Juan de Salas and Antonio Rodríguez Arfán on Charlotte Street. John Bartram reported "bannisters" which shielded protruding street-level windows in 1765, yet the residents make no mention of the gratings in the wooden elements of inventories. Bartram as well as William Gerard De Brahm (1771) remarked critically that there were no chimneys or window glass in St. Augustine, but chimneys and window glass appeared several times in the lists critiqued by the residents themselves.⁴⁴

Free-standing kitchens had their own storage space as well as their own yards fenced with wood. Kitchens were located in wooden buildings with shingle roofs. None of the kitchen buildings was described as having a thatch roof, either of palm or straw, despite the building's use for work purposes. If the residents were so concerned with fire after the 1702 conflagration, why were the kitchens built as flammable structures with flammable roofs of wood? Espinosa's *coquina* kitchen associated with his residence site was probably an extravagance in the town. But tabby was a cheap and fire-resistant masonry alternative that could have served as material for secondary buildings that acted as workspaces, yet the appraisals and inventories do not bear out its use in that context.

An interesting revelation from the appraisals was the presence of compounds containing several substantial structures, each with its own

associated work buildings. Unfortunately the compounds can at this time only be viewed in the freeze-frame of the date of the appraisals. The absence of notary records prohibits following the history of the properties to discover whether they had been consolidated over time or were large parcels that were not yet divided. For example, Eligio's list of property owners in 1764 obscured the compound character of Diego de Espinosa's property in 1756, only eight years before. By 1764 Espinosa's land and buildings were distributed to his widow and children and thus appeared with the heirs' names in Eligio's list. Son Francisco de Espinosa acquired title to the site on the waterfront. Widow Josefa de Torres received the dwelling house on the west side of Charlotte Street and the main commercial building: the masonry, flat-roof structure. She subsequently transferred the lot with the flat-roof building to her daughter, Josefa de Espinosa, once again employing the practice recognized in this study regarding successive female property ownership (see Chapter 5), Josefa's husband, Juan de Mata Pérez, was the owner listed by Eligio.⁴⁵

Compound sites offered the options of use by the owner for a residence or for his or her own commercial endeavors or rental space to yield income. At compounds of the dimensions of those of Espinosa or Rodríguez Arfian all of the possibilities could take place concurrently. Stanley Bond concurs that the blending of commercial and residential use in St. Augustine brought about improvement in the financial situation of the property owner.⁴⁶

Compounds also meant the potential for subsequent generations to have residences or commercial space while maintaining the physical unity of the family.

Notes

1. Wilbur Henry Siebert, Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785 (Deland: The Florida State Historical Society, 1929), 2: passim.
2. Perhaps the most egregious example is the so-called "don Toledo" house on today's Aviles Street. At the beginning of the twentieth century the building, then barely a century old, was touted as the 400-year-old love-nest of a conquistador and a local Indian princess. Not satisfied in relying on this claim to fame, the owner also planned to enhance the site with a backyard tank for alligators to be ridden by "a lady swimmer of reputation." Florida Master Site File #8SJ77, 36 Aviles Street, Division of Historical Resources, Tallahassee, Fla.
3. Albert Manucy, The Houses of St. Augustine, 1565-1821 (St. Augustine: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1962).
4. Albert Manucy, Sixteenth-Century St. Augustine: The People and Their Homes. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997).
5. Inventory of the houses, slaves, and furnishings of Pablo de Hita Salazar, 1681 March 10, Archivo General de Indias, Seville Spain (hereafter AGI), Escribania de Cámara, Bundle (hereafter Bnd.)156-A, p. 650 ff (P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, microfilm reel 27J). Governor's Hita's possessions were seized and assessed as part of an administrative investigation. In 1737, an inventory of the property of Governor Francisco del Moral Sánchez was made also in the context of an administrative investigation. Because Governor del Moral owned no houses, however, a comparison of the style and detail of the appraising of houses cannot be made. The appraisals of furniture in both circumstances were similar in style of description and level of detail. "Inventory of the Papers and Goods Belonging to Don Francisco del Moral Sánchez," 1737 March 22, AGI, John B. Stetson Collection, Yonge Library (hereafter SC), 58-2-12.
6. The scholarly investigation of colonial times has now extended as well to architecture located beyond the urban setting, especially at mission sites.

Archaeological research at these sites as caused researchers to become "increasingly skeptical" about Florida's adherence to the spatial ideal set forth for missions. See Bonnie G. McEwen, ed., The Spanish Missions of La Florida (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), quote of Rebecca Saunders on 57.

7. David J. Weber, The Spanish Frontier in North America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 317.

8. Eugene Lyon, The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1976), 119; Manucy, Sixteenth-Century St. Augustine, 56; Leopoldo Torres Balbás, "La vivienda popular en España," in Folklore y costumbres de España (Barcelona: Casa Editorial Alberto Martín, 1933) 3:274.

9. Manucy, Sixteenth-Century St. Augustine, xiv.

10. "The ancient Asturian houses were of wood." Asturian municipalities gave the predominance of wooden buildings as the rationale for fining those who carried fire through the streets. C[onstantino] Cabal, La familia: La vivienda, los oficios primitivos, Vol. 2. Las costumbres asturianas, su significación y sus orígenes (Madrid: Talleres Voluntad, 1931), 76. Torres Balbás, "La vivienda popular en España," 289.

11. Hernando de Mestas [?], Map of St. Augustine and its Environs, c. 1595, map no. 60; Depiction of Santa Elena, c. 1580, map no 61; Bartolomé de Argüelles, Plan for a Fort and Warehouse in St. Augustine, 1593, map no. 62; HSAPB collection, original map and drawings in AGI.

12. "Papers relating to the sale of Governor's St. Augustine house, which Gonzalo Méndez Canzo had bought from María de Pomar," Year of 1603-1604. AGI Santo Domingo (SD) 82 (microfilm copies at Center for Historic Research, Flagler College, St. Augustine).

13. Albert Manucy, The Houses of St. Augustine, 65.

14. Luis Arana, "Governor Cendoya's Negotiation in Mexico for a Stone Fort in St. Augustine," El Escribano 7 (1970): 133; Royal Officials to Crown, 1696 April 20, AGI SC 54-5-15/114.

15. James W. Covington, "Drake Destroyed St. Augustine," Florida Historical Quarterly 44 (1965): 92; Michael V. Gannon, The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1961) 45.

16. Luis R. and Eugenia B. Arana, "Private Coquina Construction in St. Augustine, 1689-1702," El Escribano 6 (3) (1969): 28-30.
17. Juan Marchena Fernández, "St. Augustine's Military Society, 1700-1820," El Escribano 22 (1985): 54-57.
18. Torres, "La vivienda popular en España," 453, quotes on p. 456.
19. Charred mission sites presented similar blank architectural slates, but Spanish resources were insufficient for rebuilding at those locations.
20. The field notes of Florida's buildings of engineer Juan de Cotilla were available to Eligio. Eligio stated that he had collected the data and brought it to Havana. Charles W. Arnade, "The Architecture of Spanish St. Augustine," The Americas 18 (1961): 166 n.62.
21. See Arnade "Architecture of Spanish St. Augustine," 167-69 for Castelló's credentials.
22. John Bartram, A Description of East-Florida with a Journal (London: W. Nichols, 1769), 8.
23. Inventory, Appraisal and Distribution of Estate of Diego de Espinosa, 1756, Bnd. 301P4, East Florida Papers (hereafter EFP), Library of Congress Manuscript Division (microfilm copies at St. Augustine Historical Society).
24. Juan José Solana to Julian de Arriaga, Report on the condition of St. Augustine, 1760 April 9, AGI SC 86-7-21/41.
25. Appraisal of Estate of Diego de Espinosa, 1756 September 3, Bnd. 301P4, EFP.
26. The appraisal refers to the main house as the "house of the widow." Ibid.; Eligio de la Puente map.
27. The shallow slope of the roof is deduced from the statement that the roof consisted of 828 shingles. Shingles ordered by the Spanish government were described as being two Spanish feet long and a half foot wide, or one-square foot per shingle. Thus the area of the roof barely exceeded the building's footprint. Contract for Wooden Materials, 1799 May, Bnd. 279O14, EFP.
28. No door joining the two upper room is mentioned in the appraisal. The door described as "going from the [downstairs] bedroom to the dining room" is specifically set forth and valued at 4 pesos. Inventory, Appraisal and Distribution of Estate of Diego de Espinosa, 1756, Bnd. 301P4, EFP.

29. Bond states that only five buildings with more than two rooms (on the ground) have been excavated and the largest was a 5-room structure. Stanley C. Bond, Jr., "Tradition and Change in First Spanish Period (1565-1763) St. Augustine Architecture: A Search for Colonial Identity." Ph.D. diss. State University of New York at Albany, 1995, 263.
30. The appraisal lists "two doors and a small window" (dos puertas y una ventanita). Inventory, Appraisal and Distribution of Estate of Diego de Espinosa, 1756, Bnd. 301P4, EFP.
31. Appraisal of property of Antonio Rodríguez Arfian, 1763 November 29, Bnd. 359, EFP. Eligio de la Puente map, parcels #176 and 177.
32. Ibid [Appraisal of Rodríguez Arfian]; Testimony of Onofre de Arguëlles, 1735 March 14, AGI SD 845, (microfilm copies at Yonge Library); John Jay TePaske, The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700-1763. Durham: Duke University Press, 1964), 174.
33. Appraisal of property of Antonio Rodríguez Arfian, 1763 November 29, Bnd. 359.EFP.
34. This building was included in Arnade's description of St. Augustine architecture, but not the two adjacent buildings. Arnade used the Claims for Town Lots in the Spanish Land Grants while this study used documents in the East Florida Papers for this information. The translated inventory by Arnade is the same as the one in the East Florida Papers. "Architecture of Spanish St. Augustine," 179 note d.
35. Arnade, "Architecture of Spanish St. Augustine," 175-77; Eligio de la Puente map.
36. Deed from Bernardo de Florencia to Pedro José Gómez, 1733 and sworn statements in Claim of Nicolasa Gómez, Claim no. 82, Town Lots, Spanish Land Grants (hereafter SLG) Division of Historical Resources, Tallahassee (microfilm copies in HSAPB collection); Charles W. Arnade, The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1959), 31.
37. Appraisal, n.d. [but prior to 1763-64 Spanish evacuation]; sworn statement of Antonio Pueyo, 1801 March 2. Pueyo was testifying to pre-1763 evacuation matters. Both in Claim of Nicolasa Gómez, Claim no. 82. Town Lots, SLG.
38. Arnade, "Architecture of Spanish St. Augustine," 177-79.

39. Estate of Miguel Yznardy, 1803 ff.; estate of Catalina Nicles Mestre, 1804 ff., both in Bnd 139, EFP.
40. Stanley Bond, "Report on Puente Site, SA 24," Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board collection.
41. Bond, "Tradition and Change," 294.
42. Bernard L. Herman, "Charleston Single House," in Carter L. Hudgins, Carl R. Lounsbury, Louis P. Nelson, Jonathan H. Poston, The Vernacular Architecture of Charleston and the Lowcountry, 1670-1990: A Field Guide (Charleston: Historic Charleston Foundation, 1994), 352; Bond, "Tradition and Change," 285.
43. Bond, "Tradition and Change," 284.
44. Manucy, Houses of St. Augustine, 86-87. DeBrahm's and Bartram's remarks are quoted on p. 29 and 31
45. Petition for probate and Distribution of Estate of Diego de Espinosa, 1756, Bnd. 301P5, EFP; Eligio de la Puente map.
46. Bond, "Tradition and Change," 272-74.

CHAPTER 5 PROVIDING A HOME

Before marrying, have a house to live in
(Antes de casar, ten casa de morar.)
—Spanish proverb

Proverbial Spanish wisdom admonishes betrothed couples in rhythm and rhyme to have a place to live before the wedding. The residents of Spanish Florida developed ways of accomplishing this universal concern. The Florida colony did not become a producing region for Spain's economic benefit. The founding settlers' "utopia of mutual hopes," where commoners would embrace land and profit and nobles would acquire agricultural enterprises and vassals, did not come to be.¹

The continued existence of Florida as a Spanish colony became an expense to the crown. It was an expense that the crown could not renounce without relinquishing the colony. Florida became a military outpost to protect the seaways, conduits of American silver and gold to Iberia.² Thus the Euro-American residents of the colony received most of their sustenance from the military payroll. Historian Amy Bushnell and anthropologists Kathleen Hoffman, Elizabeth Reitz, Stephen Cumbaa, and John E. Worth have

asserted that food produced in the Florida countryside by Native Americans was essential to the colony's persistence, filling the shortfall in the military supplies. Although there were some farms and cattle ranches, the majority of Euro-American property owners held real estate as family homesites within the walls of St. Augustine or nearby.³

The majority of homesites were not "units of production," but residences with gardens and some food animals. Families did not rely on their homesites to maintain themselves, rather the homesites augmented the military salaries and supplies. The focus of real property practices was to ensure living space for families, especially in a town where husbands were often non-local and thus non-landed men. By contrast, in agricultural areas in North America, especially in the British colonies, the concern was usually for maintaining the viability of the productive unit—the farm. Planters often evidenced this perspective by establishing inheritance arrangements favoring the farm's longevity over a spouse's needs.⁴

In situations where land was perceived as holding a less important role as a source of wealth, women achieved a more nearly equal claim to land. Historian John Crowley underscores this pattern by asserting that British American tradesmen and merchants were more generous to their widows than were planters. Despite a plantation economy, ironically in South Carolina, Florida's "neighbor" and nemesis, land was not perceived as the most valuable asset. Carolina agriculturalists perceived slaves as a more valuable

asset than the land because the planters held that slave labor was essential to the land's productivity. In addition, Charleston's role as an entrepot placed commercial assets in an important role in the colony's economy. The attitudes in this southern British colony were exceptional and differed greatly from the northeast colonies and further evidenced that difference with favorable consideration of females as heirs and owners of land.⁵

In Spanish Florida the dominant role of a source of revenue other than land—the military budget—engendered a pattern of residential property ownership through successive female generations. Although very few property records remain from Florida's first two centuries, those that are available indicate that mothers often passed on homesites to their daughters. In a military town male roles and values dominated society even more than in other kinds of settlements, yet an intensive investigation of documentation pertaining to individual sites illustrates the important role of women in the social and economic stability of St. Augustine. St. Augustine's white, female population was almost exclusively creole, descending from the earliest settlers. In the eighteenth century many of these women found husbands among the soldiers arriving mostly from Spain, some from Cuba or Mexico to man the garrison. In the face of the immigrant husbands' limited access to real property, St. Augustine's society responded by providing homes for the families formed by the marriage of a local woman and an "incoming" man. The Laws of the Indies, which applied to all of Spain's New World colonies,

provided a ready legal mechanism in the dowry to accommodate the demographic situation.

The somewhat schematic map drawn by Juan José Eligio de la Puente in 1764 is the earliest document of property ownership for the entire town that is available at this time. The map indicates owner's name, parcel size, and construction materials of the buildings on the lots. Pablo Castelló, an engineer and mathematician, more clearly portrayed the physical reality of the town on his 1763 map, but it provides no listing of private land owners. In the absence of property records and other legal documents, Eligio de la Puente's map has been the bible and often the sole source for analyzing St. Augustine's Spanish land use and ownership.

Local records for St. Augustine's first two centuries sailed away with the town's Spanish residents in 1763 and with only a few exceptions remain unavailable still.⁶ Only a few of the deeds and wills transported to Cuba returned to Florida with the Spanish after 1784. When Spain regained the Florida peninsula after successes in the war of the American Revolution, some of the exiles of 1763 or their offspring returned with intentions of re-establishing ownership of their abandoned property. The current absence of notary records for land sales and probates precludes any broad or proportional assessment of property ownership. The scope of practices thus cannot be determined.

Women were prominent among the claimants for the family lots. Although property maps drawn in 1764, at the evacuation, and in 1788, after the Spanish returned, frequently listed male owners of lots, further investigation showed female family members to be the agents of transfer of ownership. The practice of female property control came into focus when the phrases pertaining to ownership embedded in repatriated personal documents were examined in conjunction with the kin relationships which could be charted from the Catholic Church's records of baptisms, marriages and burials. Women retained their surnames after marriage. Children usually used the surnames of their fathers, but sometimes could choose their mother's name if it were the more illustrious, or even that of a grandparent for any status it might confer.

Reliance upon maternal property even into the second era of the Spanish regime in Florida illustrated how firmly established was the tradition and idea among Florida families. Two parcels across the street from each other serve as examples. Gerónima Rodríguez lived and died in a house on the west side of the Street of the Governor (today's St. George Street) in the first third of the eighteenth century.⁷ Three generations of daughters would follow her to live on the lot at the end of the alley that led and still leads to the fort. As her mother before her, Gerónima married a native of southern Spain, sent to St. Augustine as a soldier. The widower Francisco Navarro arrived in early 1724; Gerónima and Francisco married in June of that year. From our

distance of two and a half-centuries we dare not conjecture the proportionate influence of heart, hormones, and a homesite on the couple's decision to wed.⁸

In the will written six weeks before her death, Gerónima described her home as a tabby (shell concrete) structure with a roof composed of palm thatch. A masonry wall surrounded the lot. A year and a half after her death her twice-widowed husband married a thrice-widowed St. Augustine woman. We do not know in what house this newly formed couple lived nor if the new wife brought any of her own children to join Francisco and Gerónima's eleven-year-old son and nine-year-old daughter Juana.⁹

In 1745 at age sixteen, Gerónima's daughter, Juana Navarro, married a man who was also from southern Spain—but a merchant, not a soldier. Florida's transfer to Great Britain forced Juana and her family to abandon what had been her mother's house.¹⁰ In October of 1763, Juana, with a five-week-old baby (her ninth) in her arms, her husband Salvador de Porras, and as many as six other surviving children boarded the brigantine San Antonio bound for Havana. The middle child, Catalina, a ten-year old girl, would return after 1784 with her own children to the house on today's north St. George Street—at the end of the alley that led to the fort.¹¹

When Catalina de Porras came back to her birth town, she intended to re-claim the lot where her mother and her grandmother had lived. Supporting documents refer only to the ownership interest of Catalina's mother Juana

with no mention of any claim of her mother Juana's brother, Francisco. The brother was also a child of Gerónima, who had survived to adulthood and married, and thus would have been an heir. When the occupants balked at vacating, and Catalina's husband, representing Catalina's mother, Juana, presented grandmother Gerónima's will as testimony of the family's ownership, ownership was affirmed for the old Florida claimants, though some adjustments to the property lines were made to accommodate residents who had moved onto the lands during the British years and stayed on after the Spanish returned.

Reliance on the 1764 map made by Eligio de la Puente has obscured the role and ownership of women in homesites.¹² Eligio de la Puente listed the house reclaimed by Catalina on behalf of her mother under the name of Catalina's father. Eligio de la Puente's listing reflected the primacy of the husband in identifying the household to the world outside the family. Perhaps the ad hoc manner in which Eligio was forced to prepare his map in the face of evacuation left little time for careful research into ownership. Eligio de la Puente's list depicted on its face substantial female ownership of property, even without considering the obscured owners. Of the named property owners, 40 percent were women (80 of 203), although women owned only 24 percent of the individual parcels (85 of 350). Numerous property owners claimed several parcels, resulting in the difference in the percentages. Across the street, at Victoria Escalona's homesite, similar events took place.

Victoria lived on a corner with the north wall of her house bounded by the lane that dead-ended at Gerónima's fence. In 1743 the widowed and apparently childless Victoria married a soldier from Spain, Martín Martínez Gallegos. Victoria might well have provided this house for the new marriage. Like Gerónima she died long before her husband did. By virtue of Victoria's dowry, Victoria's motherless children and their father, as their guardian, were entitled to use Victoria's house for their home. Before the first anniversary of her death, her widower also buried two of their children within a period of four days. This father with two (or possibly three) children still living married again, choosing not a St. Augustine native, but a member of a recent immigrant group of German Catholics brought to St. Augustine as settlers. Victoria's widower was able to offer his new bride a home in the house that his dead former wife had provided. This composite family, including children of the new marriage, also sailed for Cuba in 1763. On his map Eligio de la Puente listed the remarried husband as the owner of the house and lot. Yet the property ownership rested with Victoria's lineage.¹³

Unlike the neighbors across the street, neither Victoria's daughter nor son chose to return from Cuba in 1784. Victoria's sister, however, sailed back to claim the corner property on behalf of her niece and nephew and subsequently to live there herself. This rather brash aunt appeared at the property and astounded the occupant, a man who had been paying rent for years to a self-proclaimed owner, by ordering him to vacate immediately. A

wooden house the occupant had built now sat upon the property, for Victoria's masonry house had not survived the intervening years. So Victoria's younger sister moved onto the lot and into the new house. There is no mention of any claim by Victoria's husband to the property nor by any of the children that were born of his subsequent marriage. Apparently the property was Victoria's to pass on to her children. A pre-evacuation resident testified that there had been "no other resident or owner than Victoria Escalona."¹⁴

The stories of these two sites illustrate the practice of succession of female ownership of real property that occurred as well among other families in Spanish St. Augustine. In the earliest of the records studied, Micaela González in 1727 sold the house "inherited" from her parents. Isabel Rodríguez entered her second marriage in 1733 with family real estate, acquired when she married the first time four years earlier. Eligio de la Puente listed her second husband as the owner.¹⁵ In 1763 Doña Beatriz Amadora, bound for Cuba, abandoned the site that was the "legacy of [her] ancestors."¹⁶

Charles W. Arnade recognized this female participation in property conveyance in St. Augustine through his study of the Averó family, with its many daughters and apparently sufficient land to accommodate them all.¹⁷ Four of the Averós owned lots which either faced each other or were contiguous. Eligio de la Puente listed the lots of the widow, Antonia (#81) and Alfonsa (#66), in their own names, while the lots of Ursula (#67) and Juana

(#80) appear under the names of their husbands. The lots might well have been distributed from land of their mother, who had married their soldier-father, a Canary Islander, in 1711. Arnade identified the larger parcel from which the girls' land was divided with their great-grandfather, based upon the inclusion of the great-grandfather's name, Juan de Peñaloza, in a 1709 government appraisal of property in St. Augustine. In the next generation the land passed to a daughter and subsequently to her daughter. Given this sequence and the observations here about Eligio de la Puente's listing of husbands, if alive, rather than their wives as owners, Arnade's referring to the Peñaloza "patrimony" and to the "patriarchal building" focuses incorrectly on male rather than the successive female ownership.¹⁸ Arnade did not take into account the laws in place in the colonies and refers to "Spanish tradition" and "custom" regarding inheritance.¹⁹ But there was no single "Spanish" tradition emanating from Iberia, for the regions of Spain had differing procedures regarding inheritance. Colonial law, however, was based on antecedents of the Castilian region and prevailed in the Americas. The colonies were the property of the crown of Castile. Thus persons arriving from Iberia might find themselves faced with colonial laws that did not fit with or support their various traditions and expectations about residential and inheritance practices. The lack of documents deprives us of prima facie evidence about whether the observed matrilineal succession was de jure as well as de facto.

The most reasonable hypothesis is that the houses and their land either served as dowries or were legacies. One of the Avero sisters, Ursula, reclaimed her two-story house in 1785, after Florida was returned to Spanish rule, so that the property could serve as a dowry for her daughter's betrothal to a Spanish army officer posted to St. Augustine. Although Ursula, then in her sixties, remained in Havana, she continued the tradition of endowing a daughter with a house as she had witnessed in her own family and among her neighbors during her childhood in St. Augustine.²⁰

The institution of the dowry recognized women's weak economic position in society. Fathers and guardians were required to endow their daughters or female wards at the time of marriage if there were means to do so. The main purpose of the dowry was to provide for possible widowhood and enable the widow to maintain a household separate from her parents or siblings as well as to assist with the future family. The dowry remained the property of the married woman although her husband controlled it. Any income her dowry might generate was at his disposal. A woman recovered the dowry upon the death of her husband, and if she predeceased him, her children inherited the dowry or it reverted to her parents if she died childless. Real property was not the usual corpus of a dowry in Hispanic areas; jewels, slaves, furniture, clothes, and silver were customary. A dowry of a proprietary government office assured many a colonial woman of a good marriage

throughout Spanish America, as it did in St. Augustine's during the town's early years.²¹

However, tradition as well as the economic means of the bride's family determined the contents of the dowry according to Asunción Lavrin and Edith Couturier. The local situation in St. Augustine made a house a pragmatic choice for a dowry. A town that was dependent upon the military budget (situado) did not generate wealth to provide brides with jewels, fine clothing and silver plate. Besides, what a new couple needed in St. Augustine was a place to live. Men coming from Spain or other parts of the empire to duty in St. Augustine could not bring a home with them. In these circumstances, a lot and a building upon it was an asset that a family could afford for endowing a daughter and one not available to a prospective son-in-law who was a soldier from elsewhere. The disposition of the houses of Victoria Escalona and Ursula de Averó in the manner described above implies that the properties were dowries. The passage of control from the deceased Victoria to her children in the one case, and the conveyance solely by the widowed Ursula de Averó in the other instance illustrate the "clear-cut separation" under colonial law of a woman's own property (parafernales and dowries) from the assets accumulated during the marriage (gananciales). Had the houses been jointly owned by the marital couples, the ownership would have been divided among the surviving spouse and the children of the deceased. Only Victoria's two children, not any of their father's other children from his

subsequent marriage, reclaimed the house in St. Augustine. Ursula de Averó acted as sole owner in the disposition of her house for her daughter's dowry, with no reference to any claims of her children as heirs of either of her two deceased husbands. Ursula pledged the house that she had left behind in St. Augustine as collateral for a dowry of 70,000 copper reales. Ursula's use of her house for her daughter's dowry was particularly telling in light of the fact that her own son (the girl's brother) was stationed in St. Augustine at the time, yet Ursula used it for the daughter's benefit.²²

The wills of men of advanced age, who had outlived several wives and many of their own children required detailed explanations to substantiate the validity of ownership of properties that had come to them through dowry or had been disposed of as dowry.²³ The colony's long-time treasurer, Francisco Menéndez Márquez explicitly attested to the practice, stating that his daughters were provided houses at the time of marriage and that his own wives as well brought houses into marriage with them. Itemizing his assets and debts in 1742 at the end of his life, the aged Menéndez Márquez recited in his will that he "gave" houses to the two eldest of his five daughters when they married. The youngest three received slaves, horses, and earrings—the family's town real estate no doubt depleted by the time the younger girls wed. Production lands, however, Menéndez had retained and not offered as part of daughters' marriage arrangements: the cultivated lands of Araquei, which he

had purchased. Additionally his family had held cattle ranching lands through several generations of Menéndez males.

Menéndez's wives had come into marriage with houses. His second wife brought to the marriage a two-story house that was her "maternal legacy," which she willed to him in the absence of offspring. Menéndez's father-in-law had to agree to the bequest which suggests that the property might have been a dowry to which he had some right of use. Menéndez's third wife was able to provide a small tabby house with a palm thatch roof when they married.²⁴ Likewise, Juana de Sepúlveda brought to her marriage a house inherited from her parents." Her widower found it necessary to clarify the homesite situation in his own will even though the "small house roofed with thatch" was no longer part of his assets. After their house burned, the couple sold the lot.²⁵

The association of maternal or uxorial preeminence with homesites is set forth by Artillery Sergeant Fernando Rodríguez, who became the owner of property originally belonging to his mother-in-law. His mother-in-law provided a homesite as a dowry that was to revert either to herself, her daughter or to the daughter's heirs upon the death of Rodríguez. With his wife and then their son predeceasing him, Rodríguez in his will outlined the demise of members of his wife's family, which allowed him to become the owner and bequeath it to a legatee of his own choice.²⁶

Straightforward inheritance is the other plausible explanation of the passage of property, and documents examined contain specific references by women to legacies from their parents. The Laws of Castile applied to the Indies so inheritance rules were consistent throughout the Spain's New World possessions unlike the dissimilarity among the British American colonies north of Florida.²⁷ Inheritance laws varied among the old kingdoms of the Iberian peninsula, and immigrants to St. Augustine surely brought their own regional practices and traditions about of the acceptable methods of passing on property, which they might incorporate in their wills within the limits of the law. Castilian, and therefore colonial, law did not favor the right of primogeniture, which prevailed in some areas of Spain itself, but instead prescribed equal inheritance for children and spouse. A testator could favor a spouse or a particular child with a larger portion, the mejora, but within legal limits that protected the other heirs. Silvia Arr6m explains that "the law favored the right to inherit over an individual's freedom to bequeath." David A. Brading in his study of merchants and mining found the equal division of family assets detrimental in Mexico, where once-viable commercial enterprises suffered as their ownership became fragmented through the practice of partible inheritance. Although St. Augustine had no fortunes to sunder on the Mexican scale, the use of the dowry as an advance legacy to provide a home precluded multiple and potentially conflicting ownership of a residence that was originally intended to accommodate one family. A dowry

was often considered an advance inheritance, thus the references to legacies in the St. Augustine documents might well refer to legacies-as-dowries as much as to other forms of inheritance. The descriptions by elderly widowers regarding reversion of property to parents of their deceased spouses or to property to be held in trust for minor children of a dead mother or references to consent required from a deceased wife's imply a typical and codified dowry situation rather than post-mortem inheritance.²⁶

Providing new families with access to land was a logical solution to the situation that developed in St. Augustine after 1680. Before then, Spain did not replenish Florida's troops, and local men staffed the garrison despite directives by the crown to the contrary. Royal orders had allowed native-born soldiers only as a "stop-gap" when military units fell below strength. But in the absence of incoming replacements, both the military and local women chose locally born men by default. After the English began to settle Carolina in 1670, Spain boosted its Florida's forces with men from the peninsula. Fifty soldiers arrived with Governor Marqués Cabrera in 1680. Marqués, who was more contemptuous of creoles than any other governor, began a determined program of dismissal of natives until the garrison reached an all-time low in manpower. Marqués then "shanghaied" an additional thirty-eight Spanish troops for Florida service in 1684, and thirty more men arrived the following year.²⁸ As this trend continued, Florida-born men probably chose to leave the

colony to find a livelihood; homesites in Florida would be of little use to them in absentia.

These were also the years of the construction of the Castillo de San Marcos, begun in 1672 and substantially completed in 1695. The advent of the fort encouraged settlement of the area nearby it, where there had previously been no white population. The appearance of the new section of town coincided with the arrival of men from Spain. The fact that the area had previously been unoccupied, at least by Europeans, might have permitted the acquisition of larger parcels than in the older, settled part of town, or of several parcels at one time that could provide separate homesites for future generations. It might be more than a coincidence that Gerónima and Victoria, who lived across from each other on the Street of the Governor, shared a grandmother. The Averó sisters as well owned homes facing each other across the Street of the Governor (today's St. George Street).³⁰

Anthropologist William Tulio Divale has observed that among less complex societies matrilocality (or uxorilocality) is an adaptive response to disequilibrium that occurs when there is immigration into an already inhabited area. Anthropologists Melvin and Carol Ember and Divale have discerned a positive relationship between matrilocality and external warfare. The requirements of external warfare were St. Augustine's raison d'être. The external warfare system fueled the town's economy and devoured its sons.³¹

St. Augustine's population turned to the female element of society in the face of the disequilibrium resulting from a relatively large male immigration. For example, the 118 men arriving between 1680 and 1685 equaled more than thirty-seven per cent of the strength of the garrison, which was composed of local men prior to the governor's arrival. The introduction of so many men contemporaneous with the construction of the fortress exerted pressure for housing that had not previously existed. Researchers investigating the physical evolution of colonial St. Augustine have attributed the spreading of the town to the northern side of the central plaza to the advent of the Castillo, but the demographic changes no doubt played a part in the creation of a residential area for Spanish families there.

The body of colonial law already provided legal mechanisms and incorporated theories that enabled a solution to the problem through female access to and residual control of property. Recently arrived, landless Iberians and Latins surely opted for a bride who could offer a house or at least a lot upon which to build a home. As for the preferences of the brides, Iberian birth carried status throughout the New World. In St. Augustine after 1680, marriage to a locally born man meant economic uncertainty as Governor Marqués purposefully mustered out native-born soldiers. Thus young women had a compelling reason in addition to status to choose peninsulares (Iberian born) over locally born men, and to entice them with land. Of course, it is

both possible and plausible that this local pattern of property transfer predated the 1680s, but again the documentation is lacking.

Many of the arriving males were natives of Andalusia in southern Spain, a region where anthropologist David Gilmore has identified female-oriented residence patterns and the very influential role of mothers-in-law. So powerful is her position that Gilmore labels the wife's mother the bête noire of Andalusian husbands.³² Perhaps such patterns and practices were both familiar and comfortable for many of the men who came to colonial Florida in the late seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century.

Divale concluded that matrilocality or the female-oriented pattern "should be seen as specific, not general." St. Augustine's pattern was a response to a particular set of conditions: a long-term influx of landless men and constricted area of settlement. But as a defense post and military town, St. Augustine's conditions were not without similarity to other towns whose primary function was to serve as protection for the Spanish empire or for other nations. Nor is the in-migration of males as soldiers into military towns restricted to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The actions of St. Augustine's population might well be a particular version of a universal pattern, and we should be alert to similar responses in other military towns.

Seen as part of the larger North American colonial experience, the practice of female property control provided St. Augustine's creole women with a security in widowhood not enjoyed by their counterparts in some of the

British colonies to the north. In British New England widows in families which included adult male children might face an uncertain residential future, for sons were favored over wives in the bequeathing of real property. Common law allowed the widow to remain in the main family residence usually one or two months; after the designated interim the heir could evict her if he wished.³³ Widow Carpenter in Massachusetts, for example, inherited the use of two rooms and access to the hearth in the house that her husband willed to his son. Perhaps Thomas King, also of Massachusetts, felt that he had been adequately generous when he assigned his wife the "east end of [his] dwelling house . . . with liberty to make some use of the cellars and lean-tos."³⁴

Conclusions

In Spanish Florida the military character of Spanish culture was perpetuated and reinforced and continued by the actuality of a military province. The matrilineal property conveyance assured not only housing for the soldiers' families, but for the soldiers themselves. By contrast historians Marylynn Salmon and David Narrett have observed that in colonial British America "a married women's power to will property was contrary to the orderly descent of land at common law."³⁵ While the female-oriented passing of property can be seen as lessening the power of the husband vis-à-vis that of the wife, the expectation and burden for the well-being of the family was

diffused among the relatives, and the expectation of the husband's providing were diminished and absorbed by the wife's parents. This is not to imply that St. Augustine's widows acted without the constraints imposed by the inability to read, the pressures of family, priests and local society or a suitor, but ownership offered power and authority over more than just an "end" of the house and some use of the fireplace.

After the Spanish regime returned to Florida in 1784 following two decades of British rule, circumstances in the town no longer needed the female-favorable property pattern as much as during the earlier Spanish tenure. But the pattern persisted in spite of changes. St. Augustine was no longer the closed society where the practice had served so well. Immigrants of all nationalities, especially citizens of the new United States, settled in the colony while other people just flowed through. A reorganized military rotated troops with regularity—at least ideally. As the years went by the civilian population grew while the military force shrunk. Ursula de Averó's son-in-law was transferred, eliminating the need for the residence so long a part of the family "matrimony."³⁶

But the pattern had been firmly planted in the world view of the floridano families that re-claimed their property in the second Spanish period. Francisca de Hita, the daughter of another of the Averó sisters, Juana, moved onto her mother's lot on St. George Street (yet another one listed by Eligio de la Puente in the husband's name).³⁷ Francisca's mother's house had since

disappeared, replaced by a footpath. The validity of Francisca's claim to the now-closed right of way was too uncertain to risk investing in the construction of a house, so she planted orange trees as her act of possession. Across the street and a few paces to the north on St. George Street, Gerónima's descendants still resided. When Florida was transferred to the United States in 1821, Gerónima's great-granddaughter, Manuela, owned the property of her maternal forebears that lay at the end of the alley that led to the fort. About to set sail for Havana, Manuela issued a power of attorney to sell the "small masonry house with its corresponding lot located . . . near the land gate." Eighty-five years had passed since Gerónima, "sick in body but sound of mind," had signed the will that described her home.³⁸ With the ships that carried Manuela, her kinsmen, and neighbors to Cuba went those practices and procedures that Florida would no longer need under United States domination and in an agricultural economy.

Notes

1. Eugene Lyon, The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1976), 117.
2. Florida's protective role was often passive rather than assertive; it must be seen very broadly. Much of the time, Florida protected the silver fleets by depriving the British of a land base near the route of the silver fleets. In the second Spanish period (1784-1821) the Spain viewed its colonies in the southeast as a barrier to United States' toward Mexico.

3. Engel Sluiter, The Florida Situado: Quantifying the First Eighty Years, 1571-1651 (Gainesville: University of Florida Libraries, 1985), 1. Historian Amy Bushnell, Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1994); Kathleen Hoffman, "The Development of a Cultural Identity in Colonial America: The Spanish-American Experience in La Florida" (Ph.D. diss. University of Florida, 1994), Elizabeth J. Reitz and Stephen L. Cumbaa, "Diet and Foodways of Eighteenth-Century Spanish St. Augustine," in Kathleen Deagan, Spanish St. Augustine: The Archaeology of a Colonial Creole Community (Orlando: Academic Press, 1983), 151-85; John E. Worth, The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Vol. 1 (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997).

4. Marylynn Salmon, Women and the Law of Property in Early America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 157.

5. John E. Crowley, "Family Relations and Inheritance in Early South Carolina," Histoire sociale-Social History 17 (1984): 35-57, esp. 45 and 51.

6. Pablo Castelló, "Plano del presidio de San Agustín de la Florida y sus contornos . . ." 1763 July 21. Library of Congress (original in the Spanish Ministry of War, LM 8a-1a), map # 30; Juan José Eligio de la Puente, "El Presidio de San Agustín de la Florida . . ." 1764 January 22, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, maps #1 and 129 in former Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board collection, State of Florida, now under aegis of City of St. Augustine, Florida (HSAPB); Robert L. Gold, Borderland Empires in Transition: The Triple-Nation Transfer of Florida (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969), ch. 5.
 Since 1983 historians and librarians at the University of Florida have attempted, so far without success, to persuade the Castro government in Cuba to permit microfilming of Florida notarial documents in Havana. Negotiations with Cuban authorities are scheduled to resume in 1999.

7. Will of Gerónima Rodríguez and Francisco Navarro, St. Augustine, 1737 February 4, Bundle (hereafter bnd.) 359, document number 1, East Florida Papers (hereafter EFP), Library of Congress (microfilm copies at St. Augustine Historical Society).

7. Marriage of Gerónima Rodríguez and Francisco Navarro, 1724 June 6; Burial of Gerónima Rodríguez, 1737 April 8, St. Augustine Cathedral Parish Records (CPR), Diocesan offices, Mandarin, Florida (microfilm copies at St. Augustine Historical Society). Gerónima's father, José Antonio Rodríguez, was the third husband of her mother, Gertrudis de Morales, the latter married first to a native of Havana and then to a man born in St. Augustine. Marriage of Gertrudis de Morales and Andrés Garrido, 1682 February 4; of Gertrudis Alvares de Morales to Jacinto Rodríguez, 1683 Dec 9; of Gertrudis de Morales to José Antonio Rodríguez, 1687 September 16, CPR. Luis R. Arana, trans., Service record of Teniente Don Francisco Navarro in Stetson Collection (SC), P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, AGI 87-3-13/14, typescript copy in files at Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine.
9. Marriage of Francisco Navarro and Mariana Entonado, 1738 December 28; Baptisms of Juan Navarro, 1727 April 5; of Juana Navarro, 1729 January 19, CPR.
10. Marriage of Juana Navarro to Salvador de Porras, 1745 February 8, CPR.
11. Baptisms of Catalina Gerónima Rafaela de Porras, 1753 January 9; of Génera Antonia de Porras, 1763 September 9, CPR. Claim of Juana Navarro, Bundle 320, Claims no. 15 and 80, Claims for Town Lots, Spanish Land Grant manuscripts (hereafter SLG), Florida Department of Natural Resources, now conserved at Division of Historical Resources, Tallahassee (microfilm copies at St. Augustine Historical Society). Juan José Solana in "Report on Conditions of St. Augustine," 1760 April 9, Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI) John b. Stetson Collection (hereafter SC), P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, (microfilm copies at St. Augustine Historical Society) stated that Porras was selling English dry goods and other things. Translations of the inventories of both of "Porras's" real properties appeared in Charles W. Amade, "The Architecture of Spanish St. Augustine," The Americas, 18 (October 1961): 175-179.
12. This map is commonly denominated "the Puente map," probably arising from an Anglophone interpretation of the mapmaker's name. This study uses the Spanish form: "Eligio" in the shortened form or "Eligio de la Puente." but not "Puente." His surname appears frequently in governmental and church records as "Eligio."

13. "Further Information on the Martínez Gallegos House" Block 7, Lot 1, Lot-and-Block File, Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board collection. The baptism of the child in 1762 of Martín Martínez Gallegos and Isabel Serrano implies their marriage prior to 1762. Isabel is listed as a native of Germany. A settlement of Germans had been established in the nearby rural area in the 1750s. That Isabel was a religious refugee is my deduction.

14. Claim of Joaquín Martínez and Rosalía Martínez [children of Victoria Escalona] and Lucía Escalona, 1783 April 19, Bnd. 320 Claim no. 79, SLG.

15. Isabel's brother as administrator's of the parents estate "conveyed" the property. Deed from Antonio José Rodríguez, executor of estate of José Rodríguez, to Bonifacio González, 1729 September [?], Bnd. 320 Claim no. 81, SLG.

16. Deed from Juan Méndez and Micaela González to José de Escalona, 1727 February 17, Bnd. 320, Claim no. 75; Petition of José Miguel Chapuz, heir of his mother, Dona Beatriz Amadora, Bnd. 320 Claim no. 62, SLG.

17. Charles W. Arnade, "The Averó Story: An Early Saint Augustine Family with Many Daughters and Many Houses," Florida Historical Quarterly 40 (1961): 1-34.

18. Ibid., quotes on 10 and 13, respectively.

19. Ibid., 16.

20. Petition of Tadeo de Arribas, son and agent for Ursula de Averó, 1785 January 11, Bnd 359, doc. no. 2, EFP. His sister, María de Arribas, and Sub-lieutenant Pablo Catajál married on 1787 January 7.

21. Silvia Marina Arrón, The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 62, 67-8. Asunción Lavrín and Edith Couturier in "Dowries and Wills: A View of Women's Socioeconomic Role in Colonial

Guadalajara and Puebla, 1640-1790," Hispanic American Historical Review, 59 (1979): 280-288, assert that the "dowry represents the first legal acknowledgment of the women's personality and the first time she is accorded possession of goods and property," quote on p. 281. Amy Bushnell, "The King's Coffin: Proprietors of the Spanish Florida Treasury, 1565-1702" (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1981), 18; Della M. Flusche and Eugene H. Korth, "A Dowry Office in Seventeenth-Century Chile," Historian 49 (1987): 204-222.

22. Lavrin and Couturier, "Dowries and Wills," 288; Arrom, Women of Mexico City, 67.

23. Amy Bushnell's asserts in The King's Coffin that the usual dowry in St. Augustine was a house. Bushnell relied on Arnade's assessment of one family: the Averos. Although Arnade's conclusion that real estate served as dowry is plausible, reasonable, and probably correct, it is a speculation nonetheless; the documents he employed do not specifically state the creation of dowries. Evidence of such behavior in one family, which happened to be overly endowed with daughters, was not sufficient to support a broad statement. Arnade, "The Averos Story;" Bushnell, King's Coffin, passim. The research presented here illustrates and supports Bushnell's contention by addressing the patterns and mechanisms.

24. Will of Francisco Menéndez Marquez, 1742 September 2, AGI SC 58-1-34/73.

25. Will of Domingo Escalona, 1755 April 20, Estate of Domingo Escalona, Bnd. 301P5, EFP.

26. Will of Fernando Rodríguez, 1762 July [n.d.] in Claim of Antonia de Averos, Bnd 319, claim no. 19, Claims for Town Lots, SLG.

27. Marylynn Salmon contends that the pervasive problem with studying property rights in early [British] America is the remarkable diversity in the laws. "No one ever envisioned a single colonial code of laws" because of the diverse situation in the home islands. Women and the Law of Property, 1.

28. José María Ots y Capdequí, Manual de historia del derecho español en las indias y del derecho propiamente indiano, (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1945), 112-77; Arróm, Women of Mexico City, 63; Lavrin and Couturier, "Dowries and Wills;" David A. Brading, Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763-1810 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 103, 307.
29. Arana, "Spanish Infantry," 22-3, 78-84.
30. Archaeological evidence indicates the Euro-American settlement of the northern part of the town was contemporaneous with the construction of the fort. Kathleen Deagan, Spanish St. Augustine: The Archaeology of a Colonial Creole Community (Orlando, 1983), 25; Albert Manucy, "The Town Plan of St. Augustine, 1580" (1977), Ms. on file at Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board collection.
31. William Tulio Divale, "Migration, Warfare and Matrilocality," Behavior Science Research, 9 (1974): 75-133; Melvin Ember and Carol Ember, "The Conditions Favoring Matrilocal Versus Patrilocal Residence," American Anthropologist 73 (1971): 571-594; Arana, "Spanish Infantry," 78-84.
32. Juan Marchena Fernández, "St. Augustine's Military Society, 1700-1820," El Escribano 22 (1985), 54-59; David D. Gilmore, "Men and Women in Southern Spain: 'Domestic Power' Revisted," American Anthropologist 92 (1990): 953-970, quote on p. 958.
33. Salmon, Women and the Law of Property in Early America, 142-43. No single body of law applied in the colonies in British America.
34. John Demos, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 75.
35. David E. Narrett, "Men's Wills and Women's Property Rights in Colonial New York," in Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, eds., Women in the Age of the American Revolution (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989), 106

36. Juan Marchena Fernández, "The Defense Structure of East Florida," 37-52, and "St. Augustine's Military Society," 77; Arrivas House File, Block 12, Lot 21, Lot-and-Block File, Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board collection.

37. Claim of Antonia de Averó, Bnd. 319, claim no. 73, Claims for Town Lots, SLG.

38. Manuela might not have been competent to handle her own affairs and unlikely to marry. "Historical Report for Block 7, Lot 4" Lot-and-Block files, Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board collection; Power of Attorney from Doña Manuela Ponce de León to Don Pedro Miranda and Don Eusebio María Gómez, 1823 February 12, Deed Book E, page 11, St. Johns County Records; Payments to Don José María Gómez and to Doña Cipriana Gómez for Doña Manuela Ponce de León, 1812 October 24 and 1817 February 6, respectively, Bnd. 6115, EFP.

CHAPTER 6 PERSONAL POSSESSIONS

I declare as my possessions
(Yo declaro por mis bienes)

—Sergeant Fernando Rodríguez, 1762

Decades of quoting, paraphrasing and thereby accepting at face value the reports of Florida's royal officials as they described a minimal material existence in the colony have prevented historians from looking for possessions at the individual level. If officials reported that things were bleak, who would expect an ordinary individual to say otherwise? Although the documentary evidence is scant, individuals who were actually caught up in events in Florida did relate what their possessions were.

Given the destructive events of the first years of the eighteenth century, surely personal possessions were minimal in the years after 1702. Possessions must have been few or new because little of the old survived the 1702 siege. Residents lost their possessions to looting and fire during the siege (see Chapter 4). Salvaged items taken with the refugees into the Castillo might have been altered or dismantled to serve more dire functions during the 50-odd days inside the fortress's walls. Forty years after the siege

one survivor recalled that "although we each brought some property into [our] marriage, none remains, as a result of the enemy's invasion."¹

But colonists in Spanish Florida would once again own items that exceeded in number and quality the bare necessities and so the residents set out to describe and distribute their possessions in inventories and wills. Unfortunately, only a few testaments and even fewer documents of estate probate proceedings are available at this time to enable us to sketch a material portrait of the colony. Crises other than death also generated the necessity to enumerate worldly goods and these sorts of listings differ from the estate inventories. Because the owner himself could compose or critique the non-probate inventories, the last sort tends to be more detailed.

One such inventory was compiled when Governor Francisco del Moral Sánchez was imprisoned in 1737, accused of abuse of office. When a replacement arrived in Florida after numerous complaints of del Moral's behavior, the disfavored governor refused to submit to orders for his removal from office. Interim Governor Manuel de Justis, after arguments and del Moral's attempt to claim sanctuary in the Franciscan convent, finally ordered the seizure of del Moral himself, his specie and possessions.²

Another non-probate inventory recorded the goods owned by a locally influential evacuee whom we have seen before, the cartographer, Juan José Eligio de la Puente, when Spain turned over Florida to Great Britain in 1763. Inventories of the goods of other residents were made at the same time but

are not available to contribute to this study. These two non-probate inventories included items either intended for sale in outlets in St. Augustine or for exchange in some fashion with the Native Americans. In neither case were items described as retail goods rather than as items solely for personal use, but the quantities and sorts of goods make that implication. And no inventories for women contribute to this study of personal property. Again, the deficit lies in the current availability of the resources, not in the lack of testamentary activity by females, for the parish burial records refer to numerous wills by women.³

These documents not only provide a sketch of what residents owned and prized, but the relative value of possessions in relation to one another is also often clear.

Furnishings

Furniture appeared on almost all of the inventories. Mahogany and cedar appeared most frequently, if the variety of wood was specified. During the eighteenth century, mahogany, a tropical wood, became widely used in furniture. Easy to carve and often beautifully grained with swirled, mottled or striped patterns, mahogany is also strong and durable. It also glues well and takes a beautiful polish. Mahogany pieces, or at least the boards to make them, had to be brought in to Florida from the Caribbean, thus making them more costly than items made in Florida from nearby forests.⁴

Three mahogany writing desks were impounded at the time of the incarceration of Governor del Moral. One of the desks was apparently sizable for it was "in two parts," and fashioned in the English style. Although anti-British sentiment marked the Spanish attitude during much of the eighteenth century, the Spanish found the English style—"with its severity and utilitarian feel"—more familiar and to Spanish taste than the more ambitious and contorted French style that accompanied the Bourbons to the Spanish throne.⁵ "[S]implicity, rigid rectangularity and austere dignity . . . have always appealed to Spanish tastes in furniture" according to The Hispanic Society of America. Crudity appeared in even the best examples of Spanish writing desks, which appeared in inventories and room descriptions in plays and tales set in Spain. According to modern museum professionals, "anyone with a pretension to wealth must have owned a writing desk." Whatever international influences might be in vogue, writing desks retained their traditional Iberian appearance. Originally designed as traveling desks, these items recalled the long centuries of Reconquest and military campaigns which so strongly influenced Spanish character and culture.⁶

The disgraced governor also owned two smaller, portable, footed writing desks (papeleras) of mahogany crafted "in the Havana style" and another small wooden writing-desk of yet another sort (escribanía).⁷ Although most of Florida's governors were of Iberian birth (peninsulares), Francisco del Moral was Cuban and probably owned more items of Cuban origin than the

appointees who arrived either directly from Spain or from service in other parts of the empire. Florida governors commonly had seen service in outposts in Africa or campaigns in the Holy Land. With their cosmopolitan experiences, perhaps they transported to Florida items acquired as gifts or souvenirs or even as booty. Thus the officials sent to embody Iberian presence in the New World might have introduced to their subordinates in Florida the motifs and styles of supposedly subjugated peoples and cultures.⁸

Writing desks—escritorios, papeleras, bargueños—composed a part of personal property in Florida since the colony's founding. The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century residents claimed ownership of such items. A list from the 1570s mentions "2 women's small writing desks" in the addition to other desks described in more generic terms.⁹ More than a century later, Pablo de Hita y Salazar made use of escritorios from China, decorated with copper. A third writing desk might have been made in Florida, for it was described as new with a body of cedar and feet of cypress, both local woods. Although larger and newer than the Chinese desks, the cedar and cypress item was valued at 12 reales (1-1/2 pesos) while the Asian items furniture was worth 20 pesos each or thirteen times as valuable.¹⁰ Governor Manuel de Cendoya owned a writing desk inlaid with marble made from Campeche wood [Honduran mahogany?] and a Spanish cedar writing desk with four iron straps in 1673. A "small cedar writing desk with two drawers" was in the house of Royal Accountant Francisco Menéndez Marqués when he died in 1742.¹¹

Juan José Eligio de la Puente owned " a full-size writing desk with smooth surface" and " two writing desks of half size" at the time of the Spanish evacuation of St. Augustine in 1764. These Florida residents carried on the Spanish tradition of the presence of numerous secretaries (furniture) in a genteel or aspiring household. Pedro Fernández Navarette had commented in 1626 that "a great many secretaries serve only for appearance or correspondence" in Iberian homes.¹²

Other cedar items found among the inventories include a chest belonging to Menéndez Márquez and a cedar trunk "in the Havana style" owned by Governor del Moral. Eligio and del Moral both counted cedar cupboards or "presses" among their belongings as well as tables of several sizes, round and square made from cedar or mahogany. Governor Cendoya's collection of fine clothing and lengths of cloth were stored in several cedar chests.¹³

Chairs and stools also appeared in the inventories. To the modern American eye the furniture for seating in colonial Florida may seem scanty, yet austerity and minimal seating remains the style even today in Spain's country houses. Governor Hita claimed only six chairs, with Mexican tacks, in 1681. Eighty years later, Eligio de la Puente's home was furnished with eighteen chairs and twelve stools. In contrast, Eligio's contemporary, Governor del Moral, owned only "three English-style chairs with cane seats." Perhaps the governor's house contained chairs and other furnishings

belonging to the crown and the governor did not personally have to supply all the furnishings for the executive residence. The appraisers of Francisco Menéndez's estate found only five chairs in his home. Diego de Espinosa's heirs reported only twelve chairs and a round table as furnishings.¹⁴

Elderly Sergeant Fernando Rodríguez was the only person to mention his bed. He bequeathed his bedstead, mattress and bed curtains to his godson and namesake. The appearance of this item illustrates that not all ordinary soldiers slept on palettes on the floor beside other household members and did, in fact, repose in comfort and style and with some privacy.¹⁵

Paintings and mirrors decorated the walls of buildings, while silver, gold, and crystal items enhanced both the appearance of a residence and, at the same time the status of the owner as well as performing utilitarian tasks. The only decorative items of any value listed for Francisco Menéndez's house were four paintings in fair condition. All four works of art only equaled the value (10 pesos) of just one of his tables. Eligio de la Puente enjoyed two sets of engravings, each set composed of a dozen scenes. Encompassing both the sublime and the profane, one set portrayed the religious mysteries and the other depicted pastoral scenes. The deposed Governor del Moral owned a "large gilt picture of San Sebastián" and three other pictures with gilt frames, measuring a vara long. Before his downfall, the governor reflected upon his own image in a pair of English mirrors with black wooden frames and

also in a medium-sized and a small mirror. Another six mirrors with walnut frames and gilded edges adorned the walls of his residence.¹⁶

With nightfall light was provided from unadorned as well as from sumptuous sources. Eligio lit his rooms with a dozen pairs of large white metal candlesticks accompanied by snuffers to extinguish them, five pairs of yellow metal candlesticks, and sixteen small candlesticks with handles. Light shone forth from hanging lanterns, and standing crystal lanterns sat next to a parlor clock on one of Eligio's tables. Numerous boxes of sperm oil candles were kept on hand.¹⁷

Implements and Containers

Implements used in the preparation and consumption of food and drink could display wealth and status as well as serve more basic functions. Items of ceramics and of precious metals were imported into Florida as well as more prosaic "kitchen" items. Euro-Americans and Native Americans in Florida and other parts of the southeast shared a desire for metallic manufactured goods, usually produced in Europe. Much of the evidence for ceramic presence in colonial Florida has been provided by archaeological excavations rather than from personal inventories. The inventories, however, enable a glimpse of the metallic items, which were more durable and thus less likely to be discarded and have been subsequently excavated hundreds of years later.¹⁸

To an ordinary person, such as Sgt. Rodríguez, durable domestic items of metal merited individual mention in a will. Rodríguez declared that he owned three iron cooking pots, a mortar and pestle, hooks for the hearth, two large hatchets and a small one, and a kneading tray (batea de amasar) with its flour-sieve. The sieve might not have been made entirely of metal, but was constituted partially of cloth.¹⁹

The governor, of course, had to display the accouterments of his social position as a means of exhibiting his authority. His tableware as much as his clothing announced his status. Dutch porringers, goblets, fourteen pewter platters, a salt-cellar, a large pitcher of wrought silver, knives, forks and spoons of silver, silver snuffers, a gallery tray, soup plates and numerous specialized serving dishes of a variety of sizes and styles were used in the governor's residence.²⁰

The surfeit of certain household items in Eligio de la Puente's possession suggested that he intended to sell them to the residents of St. Augustine, perhaps by installing them in someone else's store, as did José Guillén, or perhaps in his own shop. It can be inferred from the inventory that by the middle of the eighteenth century the colonists of Florida could purchase luxury goods in St. Augustine and use them in their own homes. Governor del Moral and Eligio de la Puente both engaged in local trade and in trade with the Native Americans of the back country, and their inventories reflect both types of clients. The inventories, however, did not discriminate

between the household items of the owner and the goods destined for re-sale.

Goods that appeared in number or volume which seemed to exceed the needs of a household, even a well-to-do or high-status household, have been assigned the status of commercial items for the purposes of this study.²¹

The colonial consumer could choose items from two barrels of pewter platters and plates, a barrel of flintstones, two barrels of flatirons, two barrels of green earthenware, seven barrels of crystal tumblers, as well as lanterns and candlesticks in several sizes. Large and small mirrors were available. Whether the eight copper coffeepots, coffeemill, tin-plated jelly pans and tart pans were used in Eligio's residence or for retail is not known. He also carried consumables such as barrels of rice, cocoa, and vitriol. More than 150 shirts, white and striped, awaited an owner. Ten small boxes of window panes and hundred of shingles were also available. The inclusion of boxes of window panes in Eligio's inventory testified to the use of glass for windows by the Spanish in Florida prior to evacuation to Cuba and before the arrival of British rule. John Bartram reported in 1765 that the Spanish houses had no glass windows and thus the British have been credited with the introduction of glass windows into Florida—an assumption that has been accepted by historians for years.²²

Textiles and Clothing

Throughout all the Atlantic colonies, cloth was a highly sought commodity. Historian Adrienne D. Hood claims that: "cloth was the most material item of material culture in the eighteenth century Atlantic world." She asserts that "fabrics and clothing represented the largest expenditure on household items for most families." Thus Florida testators and others concerned with the fate of their possessions listed and assigned textile items to their beneficiaries. Francisco Menéndez gave to his daughter María de los Angeles a velvet cloak trimmed in gold upon her marriage. Sgt. Rodríguez unequally divided his clothing between his two godsons. He favored his namesake with all of his white garments and half of the colored clothing (in addition to a bed and a residence). The other godson, Pedro Morente, received the remaining half of the colored clothing (ropa de color). Eligio listed four and a half varas of fine blue cloth, perhaps for his own use, given the small amount. Equivalent to slightly more than twelve English yards, the cloth was not enough to make a complete man's garment, which required about seventeen yards. Wool ruffling or flounce of the same color as the dry goods also appeared on his inventory.²³

Governor del Moral might well have been the dandy of the colony during his tenure, for his confiscated trunks held sumptuous cloth awaiting tailoring. The governor possessed silk cloth of several varieties, caps of embroidered velvet, buttonsets of silver, and two buttonsets (one set of silver)

specifically for a man's dress-coat, stockings of deep red silk, handkerchiefs, Chinese silk ribbon, skeins of gold thread, pounds of ordinary white thread. The sorts of textiles among the governor's possessions resembled the kinds of textiles used for religious purposes in rituals and festivals. To complete his sartorial presentation, he carried a silver-tipped walking-stick. Whether he wore his scimitars or displayed them as exotica is unknown. Pocket pistols and a sword made in the "Madrid style" completed the body weaponry.²⁴

Curtains appeared on the governor's inventory, but none of luxurious materials. The curtains were made of the more mundane and utilitarian chintz and linsey-woolsey. A set of four green linsey-woolsey curtains boasted printed borders.²⁵

The Native Americans wanted cloth items as badly as the Euro-Americans and they traded their enemies into slavery as well as exchanged deerskins in order to obtain lengths of cloth and ready-made cloth items. As colonial governments vied for Native alliances, cloth became part of the annual gifts to the Indians in the hope to secure their support, or at times merely to ensure their passivity or neutrality in the inter-European rivalries that played out in the southeast. Florida's Governor Manuel de Montiano reported in May 1738 that, "Clothes, shirts, hats, beads, and pipes" had arrived and that they would be charged against the "Indian budget" and exchanged for friendship. Twenty years later, Father Solana remarked about

the Native Americans who "were in need of ribbons, kerchiefs, etc." and wished to trade their deerskins in St. Augustine for the cloth items.²⁶

Eligio's inventory listed several items "for the Indians." Packed in a long box were twenty-five guns intended for Native American ownership. Eligio also claimed some blue, medium-quality wool cloth and remnants of white valletón. The large number of axes, hatchets, combs, and rosaries among Governor del Moral's possessions might have been intended for the Indians, but those items were also sought by the other residents of the colony as well.²⁷

The governor kept some home remedies in one of his chests, trunks, or desks. Pieces of a plant that might have effected the human heart, similar to digitalis, and candles which might have contained narcotic oil, as well as papers containing a red powder and a blue powder and "a little bit of itamo (a Cuban all-purpose remedy), were found near the his half dozen cupping-glasses (ventosas) suggesting the plants' medicinal uses.²⁸

Jewelry

Jewelry had long served as one of the most popular dowry items throughout the Spanish world. It not only bespoke wealth and respectability, but could be offered up as collateral for financial arrangements. Accountant Francisco Menéndez provided his daughters with jewelry, slaves, and horses when they married. Gerónima, Teresa and Luisa Menéndez all received

earrings worth 40 pesos upon marriage. Luisa was also given a gold chain valued at 50 pesos. Daughter María de los Angeles received two pairs of earrings, worth 30 and 25 pesos as well as a gold necklace (no value stated). A daughter's dowry items remained the property of the woman to enjoy or to use, with her spouse's consent, for the family's survival if events resulted in financial distress. Upon her death, the dowry items passed equally to her children, not to her widower. The lone Menéndez son received livestock and a slave, but no items of jewelry, at his marriage. Menéndez's marriage grant to his son was only about half the value of those given to the daughters.²⁹

Building Materials

Construction materials ready for use represented an investment of labor even if there had been little or no costs associated with the acquisition of the materials themselves. Coquina was the most durable of the construction materials used in St. Augustine and was ferried to outposts as well. Pedro Menéndez Marquez first reported the existence of the shellstone, which was formed of compacted small marine shells, in 1580. The stone was quarried on Anastasia Island, the long barrier island to the east of St. Augustine, and lightered across to the city.³⁰ (See chapter 4 for a discussion of the incorporation of the shellstone into architecture.) In 1743, the post known as Fort Matanzas, eighteen miles south of the St. Augustine inlet, was at last built of stone, rather than wood, and in 1755 coquina stone was

transported to the river crossing on the mission trail to the interior at Picolata, on the east bank of the St. Johns River, to build the fortification there.³¹

Father Solana, in 1760, and William Bartram, in 1774, described the coquina walls of the small fort of Picolata. Building stone from the coquina quarries on Anastasia Island was available for use in private construction projects and appeared as assets in a few inventories.³²

The inventories expressed the amount of stone owned by a decedent in quantities of boatloads, or literally, by the "canoe" (piraguas de piedra), rather than in units of square or cubic measure. Diego de Espinosa counted five canoesful of worked (labrada) coquina valued at 9 pesos per boatload. Another boatload of coquina pieces (ripio) of various sizes was worth two thirds of the value of the "worked" stone, or 6 pesos. Sgt. Rodríguez claimed three canoesful of coquina, the costs of which he had already "paid in full" (pagadas y satisfechas), but no values were stated. This gross measurement of coquina stood in sharp contrast to the detail and precision used in stating amounts of stone once the material was incorporated into a structure. In assessments of buildings, appraisers listed blocks of different widths as separate items in appraisals and with different values depending upon width. For example, stone with a thickness of two-thirds of a vara was valued at 2 pesos 6 reales; blocks cut to one-half of a vara wide, 2 pesos 4 reales; blocks measuring one-third of a vara (usually used for interior walls), 1 peso 7 reales.³³

Slaves

Enslaved men, women and children of African descent comprised some of the most valuable personal property claimed by Florida colonists. Governor del Moral claimed ownership of five slaves, four males between the ages of 12 and 22 and a four-year-old girl. The young age of his slaves probably reflected their use as personal or household servants. As governor, del Moral could call upon the slaves owned by the Spanish crown and would not have to rely as much as ordinary citizens did on the labor of his own chattels. Sgt. Rodríguez mentioned one female slave, Ana María, whom he emancipated at his death and also provided her with a small cabin or hut (choza) for her home near the La Leche mission village. José Guillén succinctly mentioned four slaves in the same clause in which his houses and his bilander appeared as possessions. With his wife still alive and her knowledge of his affairs, Guillén probably had no need to elaborate or more particularly identify these items.³⁴

Francisco Menéndez Márquez owned seven slaves at the time of his death, ranging in age from three months to 70 years old. Their value comprised one-third of the appraised value of his estate. A man with many daughters, Menéndez had transferred some of his wealth to them as marriage settlements. Menéndez had provided slaves as wedding presents to all of his children in addition to other gifts. Two of his daughters who did not receive houses at their marriage each received a slave for which Menéndez had paid

200 pesos. These more costly slaves offset the lower value of the rest of their marriage gifts in comparison to their sisters. It appears that when Menéndez ran out of houses and lots to give to his daughters, in the interest of equanimity, he substituted more expensive slaves. The last daughter to wed received the bulk of her gifts in jewelry. Menéndez gave to his son a "black boy, Florida born, named Félix, who was worth 100 pesos." Like other property, slaves could be rented out for income or mortgaged to secure loans and thus made fine dowry assets.³⁵

The inventory made in May 1756, after the death of Diego de Espinosa presented revealing differences between the emphasis upon certain possessions of town dwellers who gained their livelihood from government service and that of Espinosa's heirs and executors, who were concerned about his ranch. More like his agriculturally oriented counterparts in British America, where houses and furniture mattered little according to historians Lorena Walsh and Lois Green Carr, Espinosa's slaves, cattle, and horses constituted the bulk of his declared wealth. Likewise, the cursory attention to his ranch buildings in the inventory reflected the low monetary value accorded rural buildings in the British and the Spanish southeast. Fitting into this pattern, the only furniture claimed as Espinosa's were a mere dozen chairs and a table, which were located in the kitchen of his house in town. No furniture was listed for the ranch buildings.³⁶

Espinosa left no will to clarify his affairs and possessions nor a statement of his wishes for the distribution of any inheritance among his heirs; his executors and family bore the burden of listing his possessions and sorting out his business. Espinosa's executors submitted a list compiled by Salvador de Porras of ten slaves described by sex, age and nation of birth. The seven who had been born in Africa were cited by tribal or "nation" affiliation—Arara, Mandingo, Congo, Caravali. Two of the creole slaves were children aged 12 and 5, possibly born to parents already owned by Espinosa. The slaves' aggregate value was placed at 2032 pesos, 25 per cent more than the buildings on the two ranches. Espinosa surely utilized some his slaves to herd and handle his cattle.³⁷

None of the female slaves bore a surname in the inventory, whether that reflected the actual situation or the biases of the appraisers. "Espinosa" was the surname for all of the African-born males who were given a surname in the listing; some African males had no surname listed. Only the male creole slave, Francisco de Mora, possessed a name other than Espinosa. The surname evidence might indicate that Diego de Espinosa had purchased the African born slaves upon their arrival in the Americas or acquired some who were runaways from Carolina and given them his name at baptism.³⁸

According to Espinosa's inventory, the price of his slave cattlemen in the middle of the eighteenth century was only half of what it had been a century before. A black or mulatto slave brought from New Spain to Florida

for cattle-handling cost 500 to 600 pesos in the 1650s. Espinosa's most valuable slaves in 1756, who were around 35 years old, carried a value of 280 pesos.

Amy Bushnell cites the above price of 500 to 600 pesos. Appraisers valued Governor Hita y Salazar's slaves in 1681 at around 500 pesos with little differentiation in price regarding sex whether creole or Africa born. Pedro and Catalina, both described as 20-years-old Congos, and an Arara named Ana, 26, were each assessed at 500. The same sum was assigned to Lorenzo, who was 40 and a creole from New Spain. Appraisers found the mulatta María, 24, born in Puebla de los Angeles in New Spain to be worth 600 pesos. Amy Bushnell attributed the high price for slaves in the seventeenth century to their need for their cattle-handling ability in the hey-day of Florida ranches, but the prices assigned to Hita's slaves weakens her argument that the high value came from the knowledge and experience with livestock.³⁸

Appraisers perhaps gave elevated values to Hita's slaves in order to keep the prices high during subsequent auction conditions. Yet, the prices paid were not substantially lower than the appraised value although bidding had typically begun at a much lower level. For example, the mulatta María brought a final price of 510 pesos and Lorenzo sold for 450.

Livestock

Although it offends twentieth-century sensibilities, colonials comfortably categorized and described human property (piezas esclavas, literally "slave pieces") and livestock in a similar manner, for all were mobile as well as moveable property. They could be removed by another human as well as wander away under their own power. Espinosa owned 111 cows worth about 2000 pesos. The 80 calves, 20 bulls, oxen and horses totaled an additional 2250 pesos. The cattle were described by age, sex and markings. Horses received careful attention as well. The names of the horses were listed in addition to information on age and physical description: "a horse named 'Desconfiado' (Jealous) worth 35 pesos . . . a horse named 'Meladito' (Little Honey) worth 20 pesos."⁴⁰

The relative value of slave laborers or livestock to other possessions associated with the Espinosa's agricultural enterprise is well illustrated in the probate proceedings. The value of a horse could, in fact, equal or exceed that of a rural building as evidenced in the assessment of Espinosa's property. At the San Diego ranch stood a house, kitchen and a structure for storing corn. The appraisers offered no information about construction materials dimensions, or embellishments, such as ovens, wells, or chimneys. The value of the ranches of San Diego and of Monte Puerco were assessed at 808 and 1608 pesos respectively. Diego Espinosa shared the ownership of Monte Puerco in which his one-half interest equaled 804 pesos. If there

were slaves working at Monte Puerco who did not belong to the Diego, they would not have appeared as part of his inventory. The buildings (fábricas) at San Diego were valued at only 30 pesos and the half-interest in any structures at Monte Puerco, 20 pesos. Thus the horse known as Little Honey was worth more than the entire collection of buildings at San Diego.⁴¹ The marked contrast between the values assigned to the horses to those of the rural buildings as well as the minimal attention to detail in the accounting for the rural buildings in comparison to the buildings in St. Augustine sharply illustrated what was of importance in the colonial dichotomy of agricultural context vis-à-vis the urban and commercial sphere.⁴²

Transportation

Vessels for waterborne transportation exhibited their importance in the itemizations in Florida listings as throughout the coastal southeast. In a region replete with estuaries, tidal creeks and in Florida the wide, placid St. Johns River, boats offered faster transportation and with less toil than overland routes. A Spanish military officer's complaint that "I shall remain prisoner here" in the absence of his canoe certainly reflected the central role of boats in the life of the region. In rainy times or periods of very high tides, roads became impassable and routes using water transport had to substitute. Low-lying ground, frequently with standing water, pervaded the region and inhibited overland transportation as well as development. Only one of every

ten acres of today's St. Johns County is naturally dry enough for human habitation.⁴³

Diego de Espinosa had at his disposal a large canoe (piragua habanera) either "in the style of or made in Havana" or named Habanera (Havana lady) constructed of cedar valued at 120 pesos. In addition to a bilander, which sailed to the Caribbean, José Guillén owned a barge (bombo) and two canoes for use in Florida. One of Governor del Moral's canoes could be found at "the brickmaking place" at the time of the official's arrest; his other canoe was being used by Luis Marquéz. In the fall of 1725 Agustín Guillermo de Fuentes owned the "best" canoe in town. It was certainly a sizable vessel, capable of carrying "two small cannons that shot two-pound balls, 40 men and their weapons, ammunition and supplies."⁴⁴ The shallow-draft barges and canoes offered maximum access along tidal creeks.

At the San Diego ranch, workers employed a small narrow cart and an English-style cart with sides (carretón) for hauling and other transportation needs. These items were not evaluated, but merely listed. The vehicles were probably used primarily on the ranch itself with reliance upon the canoes to carry passengers and goods beyond the ranch. Accountant Menéndez listed a carriage "in bad condition" among his possessions, but it carried no more value than one of his tables or cedar chests.⁴⁵

Conclusions

Residents of Spanish Florida in the second century desired and acquired manufactured items. While they no doubt relied on their own skills and wit to provide a good bit of what they needed, imported items, especially those fashioned from metal were preferred. Also important were buildings which declared or enhanced the owner's or occupant's status. The simultaneous concerns for the public standing as well as true affection led Florida residents to provide for new family units when children wed.

Florida did not have the capability to manufacture metal items so that the reality of shipping costs combined and the ascribed value that comes with scarcity resulted in high prices for such objects. Both Euro-Americans and Native Americans desired metal manufactures. Among the latter group, the utilization of metal instruments had supplanted traditional tools. The acquisition of metal items required cash or the availability of items which could be traded and subsequently converted readily into cash. Barter was not a workable arrangement for acquiring goods from afar or from strangers.

Imported furniture was likewise expensive, for both its stylistic attributes and exotic woods. The presence of portable writing desks attested to the value of identification with the traditional Iberian military culture. The desks bespoke the Reconquest need for easily moveable furnishings in a campaign context and at the same time evidenced the Iberian emphasis on written documents and codification.

Inventories reveal that the value placed on labor, especially skilled workmanship. The addition of labor greatly elevated the value of possessions. Witness the worth assigned to shellstone which had been honed and cemented into a structure. The skill and time to do so represented a major investment and thus a substantial increase over the "canoeiful" of grossly quarried stone. The price of labor was a worthwhile expenditure in structures in town where one's buildings spoke to peers and acquaintances of the status of their owner. The common attitude toward buildings in town was in marked contrast to the attitude generally taken toward rural buildings. While the former investment declared the owner's station in society on a daily basis in the context of close city living, rural buildings were seen solely as means of production and only the labor necessary to make the buildings serviceable was invested in them. Diego de Espinosa's family and the appraisers of his estate agreed that his small house on the waterfront (casa chica de la marina) was ten times more valuable than all of the buildings at the San Diego ranch.

The inventories also revealed attitudes and practices about possessions within the context of family responsibilities. A substantial transfer of wealth to the next generations took place upon marriage rather

than being delayed until the death of the elders. Family members and society felt an obligation to pass wealth to the rising members of the society at the time when the recipients probably were most in need of assistance as they began their own separate family units.

Table 6-1
Inventories

YEAR OF 1737

Inventory of the Papers and Goods Belonging
to Don Francisco del Moral Sánchez

A mahogany writing-desk (escritorio) in two parts in the English style with its locks and keys
 An old, abused English chest of drawers
 Two used mahogany writing-desks (papeleras) in the Havana style with locks and keys
 Two small English mirrors with black wooden frames
 A cedar trunk in the Havana style with lock and key
 A new musket
 Three English-style stools (taburetes) or armless chairs, with cane seats
 Two dozen new, small pewter dishes
 Sixty-nine large English axes
 Ninety-four hatchets, or small axes
 Six very large axes
 One dozen black-handled knives
 Five dozen ribbons with cotton fluff
 One hundred eighty-two little wooden combs
 Twenty-five wide-tooth combs (escarmendoras)
 Five pairs of English cowhide shoes
 One dozen scissors
 A paper containing about a pound of blue powder
 Another paper with red powder, weighing three pounds
 Two pieces of raw coronilla
 A chest of candles of fagina (probably a fat, resinous wood)
 Twenty-seven china chocolate cups
 Eight finely-made china porringers
 Ten Dutch porringers
 Nine medium-size glasses
 A glass cup with a lid
 Twenty-six glass goblets
 Six cupping-glasses (ventosas)
 A small, wooden writing desk (escribanía)

In the second part of the secretary (escritorio) were found:

Five chintz curtains

Two horseman's or sailor's caps (monteras) of embroidered velvet

An ordinary inlaid agnus-dei (a Lamb-of-God religious medal)
 About a half of a piece of deep-red Chinese silk
 A half dozen packs of playing cards
 One masito of white thread
 A small ordinary mirror
 Two pairs of new silk stockings
 An apothecary jar with four pounds of powders

In the first part of the secretary:

A small piece of wool
 In a drawer, a little bit of itamo (a wide-purpose medicine)
 Two small pocket pistols
 Cotton fringe
 A new linen shirt
 A medium-size mirror
 Four scimitars with belts
 A dozen belts
 Two broken, silver-tipped walkingsticks
 A gross of rosaries with Jesus and Mary
 A silver salvilla and its bowl
 A silver basin
 Two unmatched silver candelabra
 Two buttonsets of gold thread
 Two buttonsets of silver
 Eight skeins of gold thread
 A piece of napkin material (sevillaneta)
 Four curtains of green linsey-woolsey with printed borders
 A curtain of red linsey-woolsey
 Five varas of silk-like taffeta (tercianela)
 Four varas of nankeen silk (coletilla)
 Five curtains with printed borders
 Four books of the Recopilación [of the Laws of the Indies]
 Twenty-four small and middle-size books
 Three pounds of white wax candles
 A buttonset of stone for a man's dress coat
 A dozen ordinary razors
 A telescope for a cannon
 A pair of deep-red silk stockings
 A half pound of white thread
 Four ordinary handkerchiefs
 About four ounces of thread

Five linen shirts
 Two pieces of fine wool yarn
 Half a piece of Chinese silk ribbon
 Half a piece of linen
 A silver buttonset for a waistcoat
 A case with a dozen knives
 [A case] of spoons
 [A case] of forks
 Two glass lanterns
 A mahogany table
 A round broken table
 A gig, or chaise, and its mule
 A slave named Francisco, 22, years old. [Note in left margin of document:]
 This slave named Francisco by virtue of being struck by a very
 contagious sickness remained in the city; Don Francisco del Moral
 himself conferred the Catholic Faith upon him
 Another slave named Juan de Dios, 18 years old, without bill of sale
 Another slave named Miguel, 12 years old, without bill of sale
 Another slave named Santiago, 22 years old, without bill of sale
 A young female mulatta (mulatica), 4 years old, without bill of sale
 One horse
 Three hundred barrels of pitch, and turpentine

In the control of Don Domingo

Four and one-half pipes of rum
 One hundred fifty-six bundles of tobacco
 A box of broken sugar with five arrobas [at about 25 lbs. per arroba]

In the house of Don Agustín Guillermo

A large gilt picture of St. Sebastian
 Three pictures measuring a vara long with gilt frames and colors

In the control of Don Luis Marquéz

A bridle and two riding saddles
 An attar(x)alla

Some pewter serving platters
 A piece of packing cloth
 A little box with eight spoons
 Eleven forks and twelve knives
 A salt-cellar with five little spoons of becurte
 A silver candelbrum
 A canoe that is at the brickmaking place
 Another canoe that he had given to Don Luis
 A small barrel of gunpowder
 Fourteen pewter platters
 A cow, a female calf and a male calf
 Some pigs that need to be counted
 A slave for whom has not been made a bill of sale with eighty pesos owing
 A pair of pistols
 A sword made in Madrid [in the style of Madrid?, or from Madrid?]
 A 13-year old mare
 A large pitcher of wrought silver
 Two platters (fuentes)
 A wrought tray (bandeja)
 Two salvillas
 Two middle size dishes (flamencas) and a dozen soup-plates (platillos)
 A salt-cellar of canpaña and twelve spoons
 Six forks and some snuffers, all of silver
 Twelve silver-handle knives
 Four candlesticks of metal del príncipe
 A cedar cupboard or clothes-press

All the aforesaid goods are those that have been found belonging to Don Francisco Del Moral Sánchez, impounded and inventoried before your servants, the Lord Governor and Captain-General Don Manuel José de Justís, by me the scribe and with the assistance of the Adjutant Don Juan Lorenzo del Pueyo, representative of the Royal Treasury officials, and they were put on deposit; your loyal servant, the said adjutant signed it and I so swear = Don Manuel José de Justís = Juan Lorenzo de Pueyo = Before me Bartolomé Nieto, Public Scribe 22 March 1737.

Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain
 John B. Stetson Collection
 P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, 58-2-12

Items Remaining in St. Augustine on [1764] May 10, 11, 12
 Belonging to His Majesty and Other Individuals

Possessions of Juan José Eligio de la Puente

A full-size writing desk with smooth surface
 Two writing desks of half size
 Eighteen chairs
 Twelve stools
 A large cedar cupboard
 A large mahogany table
 A smaller mahogany table
 Four small cedar tables
 Three boxes with 24 crystal table lanterns
 A box with two hanging lanterns
 A box with a used parlor clock
 Three small boxes with some plates, small plates [saucers?] and a china tea set
 A small box with four porringers and two tea pots of ordinary English earthenware and three pairs of candlesticks
 Two small boxes with two dozen engravings one [dozen] of the mysteries and the other of country scenes
 Twelve small boxes of sperm candles
 Ten small boxes of window panes
 A long box with 25 guns for the Indians
 A square box with six mirrors of walnut wood and with gilded edges
 Two boxes with 40 mirrors: half of them large, half of them small
 Twelve pairs of large white metal candlesticks and snuffers
 Five pairs of the same of yellow metal
 Twenty-nine smaller pairs of the above
 Sixteen small candlesticks with handles
 Eight copper coffee pots
 A small coffee mill
 Two sets of tin-plated bucket-shaped cauldrons
 Sixteen tin-plated jelly pans
 Seven tart pans
 Twelve sets of red, small trunks or coffers
 Twenty-one dozen shirts, white and striped
 Four and one-half varas of fine blue wool cloth
 Six and one-half varas of fine wood ruffling (or flounce) of the same color as the aforesaid
 Twelve pairs of ordinary men's shoes
 Twelve pairs of ordinary children's shoes

Two pieces of wire
Two barrels of pewter platters and plates
Two barrels of agayas
A barrel of vitriol or ferrous sulfate
A barrel of flintstones
Two barrels of irons (for ironing)
Two casks or barrels of green earthenware
Two barrels of rice
Seven barrels of crystals vases and lanterns
Four hundred shingles of various sizes
Two large jars or oil
Two narrow-bottom, straight-mouth pitchers of oil
Nine sacks of cocoa from Havana
Nine pieces of red and blue wool for the Indians
Two pieces of blue, lesser-quality wool for the Indians
Two remnants of white valleton for the Indians
Twelve bits for bridles with their reins
Two hundred seventy-nine barrels of flour
Four barrels of tallow
Eight long saws with their sleeves
A large cross-cut? handsaw
Sixteen small pine beams

Archive of the Indies, Cuba 372
Typescript in Spanish by José de la Torre Navarro
Mark F. Boyd Collection
Bureau of Archives, Florida Division of Historical Resources
Tallahassee, Florida

Notes

1. Governor José de Zúñiga y Cerda ordered residents to bring their movable belongings with them into the fort. Charles W. Arnade, The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1959), 24; quote from will of Francisco Menéndez Marqués, 1742 September 2, Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), John B. Stetson Collection (hereafter SC) P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, 58-1-34/73.

2. "Inventory of the Papers and Goods Belonging to Don Francisco del Moral Sánchez," 1737 March 22, AGI SC 58-2-12; John Jay TePaske describes the developments of del Moral's arrest drama and subsequent inquiries in The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700-1763 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1964), 45-57.

3. "Items Remaining in St. Augustine on May 10, 11, 12, [1764] Belonging to His Majesty and Other Individuals." AGI Cuba 372, transcribed by José La Torre Navarro, typescript in Mark F. Boyd Collection, Division of Historical Resources, Tallahassee, Florida.

The typescript mentions the inventories of several residents of Florida in addition to Eligio de la Puente, but does not itemize them. In March 1996, the inventory transcribed by La Torre was no longer contained with the Cuba 372 legajo in the Archives of the Indies in Seville, making the inventories for other residents unattainable.

4. Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 14, 636.

5. "Inventory of the Papers and Goods Belonging to Don Francisco del Moral Sánchez," 1737 March 22, AGI SC 58-2-12; Márquez del Lozoya and José Claret Rubira, Muebles de estilo español desde el gótico hasta el siglo XIX con el mueble popular (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, S.A., 1967), 264.

6. Grace Hardendorff Burr, Hispanic Furniture from the Fifteenth through the Eighteenth Century (New York: The Archive Press, 1964), 42-45.

7. "Inventory of the Papers and Goods Belonging to Don Francisco del Moral Sánchez," 1737 March 22, AGI SC 58-2-12.

8. Governor Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez (1706-1716) had served in Catalonia, Ceuta in North Africa across from Gibraltar, Milan, Palamos (a key or small island in Cuba) and had been a prisoner of war in France.

Governor Antonio de Benavides (1718-1734) had served in Flanders and in the 1702 siege of Acre on the northern coast of present-day Israel, located on the old pilgrimage and trade route. John Jay TePaske,

Governorship of Spanish Florida, 16-19.

9. "Goods of Doña Mayor de Arango" in Eugene Lyon, Richer Than We Thought: The Material Culture of Sixteenth-Century St. Augustine (St. Augustine: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1992), 75.
10. Inventory of the Goods of Pablo de Hita y Salazar, 1681 March 10, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 156-A.
11. [Luis R. Arana], "A Bitter Pill for the Widow Cendoya," El Escribano, 9 (1972): 73-94. In a situation similar to the now-missing documents of the Eligio inventory (see note 2 above), Arana comments on the unavailability of documents used by transcribers and translators several decades before his article, but no longer available to him, 92 n.7 and 93 n. 11. Inventory and Appraisal of the Estate of Francisco Menéndez Marqués, 1743 May 2, AGI SC 58-1-34/73.
12. "Items Remaining in St. Augustine on May 10, 11, 12, [1764] Belonging to His Majesty and Other Individuals." AGI Cuba 372, transcribed by José La Torre Navarro, typescript in Mark F. Boyd Collection; Pedro Fernández Navarrete, Conservación de monarquía y discursos políticos (Madrid, 1626), quoted in Burr, Hispanic Furniture, 42.
13. Inventory and Appraisal of the Estate of Francisco Menéndez Marqués, 1743 May 2, AGI SC 58-1-34/73; "Inventory of the Papers and Goods Belonging to Don Francisco del Moral Sánchez, 1737 March 22, 58-2-12, both in AGI SC." "Items Remaining in St. Augustine on May 10, 11, 12, [1764] AGI Cuba 372, transcribed by José La Torre Navarro, typescript in Mark F. Boyd Collection;" Arana, "A Bitter Pill."
14. Inventory of the Goods of Pablo de Hita y Salazar, 1681 March 10, AGI EC 156-A; Inventory and Appraisal of the Estate of Francisco Menéndez Marqués, 1743 May 2, AGI SC 58-1-34/73; "Inventory of the Papers and Goods Belonging to Don Francisco del Moral Sánchez, 1737 March 22, 58-2-12, both in AGI SC." "Items Remaining in St. Augustine on May 10, 11, 12, [1764] AGI Cuba 372, transcribed by José La Torre Navarro, typescript in Mark F. Boyd Collection; Appraisal of estate of Diego de Espinosa, 1756 September 3, Bundle (hereafter Bnd.) 301P5, East Florida Papers (hereafter EFP), Library of Congress Manuscript Collection (microfilm copies at St. Augustine Historical Society).
15. Will of Fernando Rodríguez, 1762 July 27, Bnd. 319, Claim of Antonia de Averó, Claim no. 19, Town Lot Claims in Spanish Land Grants (hereafter SLG), Florida Division of Historical Resources, Tallahassee.

16. Inventory and Appraisal of the Estate of Francisco Menéndez Marquéz, 1743 May 2, 58-1-34/73; "Inventory of the Papers and Goods Belonging to Don Francisco del Moral Sánchez, 1737 March 22, 58-2-12, both in AGI SC. "Items Remaining in St. Augustine on May 10, 11, 12, [1764] AGI Cuba 372, transcribed by José La Torre Navarro, typescript in Mark F. Boyd Collection.

17. Items Remaining in St. Augustine on May 10, 11, 12, [1764] AGI Cuba 372, transcribed by José La Torre Navarro, typescript in Mark F. Boyd Collection.

18. Kathleen Deagan, Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987).

19. Will of Fernando Rodríguez, 1762 July 27, Bnd. 319, Claim of Antonia de Averó, Claim no. 19, Town Lot Claims, SLG.

20. "Inventory of the Papers and Goods Belonging to Don Francisco del Moral Sánchez," 1737 March 22, AGI SC 58-2-12.

21. "Inventory of the Papers and Goods Belonging to Don Francisco del Moral Sánchez, 1737 March 22, AGI SC 58-2-12; "Items Remaining in St. Augustine on May 10, 11, 12, [1764] AGI Cuba 372, transcribed by José La Torre Navarro, typescript in Mark F. Boyd Collection.

22. "Items Remaining in St. Augustine May 10, 11, 12, [1764], AGI Cuba 372, transcribed by José La Torre Navarro, typescript in Mark F. Boyd Collection.; Bartram quoted in Albert Manucy, The Houses of St. Augustine, 1565-1763 (St. Augustine: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1962), 31: "As they had no chimneys, so they had no glass windows. . . . But now the English officers is [sic] making great alteration. The sun and light now begin to shine through glass. . . ."

23. Adrienne D. Hood, "The Material World of Cloth: Production and Use in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, 53 (1996): 43-66; will of Fernando Rodríguez, 1762 July 27, Bnd. 319, Claim of Antonia de Averó, Claim no. 19, Town Lot Claims, SLG; "Items Remaining in St. Augustine May 10, 11, 12, [1764]," AGI Cuba 372, transcribed by José La Torre Navarro, typescript in Mark F. Boyd Collection.

24. "Inventory of Papers and Goods Belonging to Don Francisco del Moral Sánchez, 58-2-12; Salvador de Cigarroa, List of Items Secured in Mexico, 1669 January 24, included in correspondence of Marqués de Mancera, 1669 April 20, 58-2-2/14, both in AGI SC. See chapter 9 for descriptions of the textiles use for religious purposes.

25. "Inventory of Papers and Goods Belonging to Don Francisco del Moral Sánchez, AGI SC 58-2-12.
26. Manuel de Montiano Letterbook, 1738 May 28, Bnd. 37, no. 41, EFP; Juan José Solana to Julián de Arriaga, 1760 April 9, AGI SC 86-7-21/41.
27. "Inventory of Papers and Goods Belonging to Don Francisco del Moral Sánchez," AGI SC 58-2-12; "Items Remaining in St. Augustine May 10, 11, 12, [1764], AGI Cuba 372, transcribed by José La Torre Navarro, typescript in Mark F. Boyd Collection.
28. The problem of definitiveness in translating results in the conjectural tone of the description of the plant and the candles. "Inventory of Papers and Goods Belonging to Don Francisco del Moral Sánchez," AGI SC 58-2-12.
29. Will of Francisco Menéndez Marquez, 1742 September 2, AGI SC 58-1-34/73; José María Ots y Capedqui, Historia del derecho español en América y del derecho indiano (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1945), 222.
30. Manucy, Houses of St. Augustine, 67.
31. Luis Rafael Arana, "The Fort at Matanzas Inlet," El Escribano, 17 (1980): 10; Cécile-Marie Sastre, "Picolata on the St. Johns: A Preliminary Study," El Escribano, 32 (1995): 35.
32. Juan José Solana to Julián de Arriaga, 1760 April 9, AGI SC 86-7-21/41; William Bartram, Travels of William Bartram Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East & West Florida, ed. Mark Van Doren (New York: Macy-Masius Publishers, 1928), 87.
33. Inventory of estate of Diego de Espinosa, 1756 May 3; Bnd. 301P5, EFP; will of Fernando Rodríguez, 1762 July 27, Bnd. 319, Claim of Antonia de Averó, Claim no. 19, Town Lot Claims, SLG; Charles W. Arnade "The Architecture of Spanish St. Augustine," The Americas, 18 (1961): 175-86.
34. "Inventory of Papers and Goods Belonging to Don Francisco del Moral Sánchez," AGI SC 58-2-12;" will of Fernando Rodríguez, 1762 July 27; will of José Guillén, 1743 December 17, both in Claim of Antonia de Averó, Bnd. 319, Claim no. 19, Town Lot Claims, SLG.
35. Will of Francisco Menéndez Marquez, 1742 September 2, AGI SC 58-1-34/73.

36. Inventory of Estate of Diego de Espinosa, 1756 May 3, Bnd. 301P5, EFP; Susan R. Parker, "Men Without God or King: Rural Settlers of East Florida, 1784-1790." M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1990.
37. Appraisal of the estate of Diego de Espinosa, 1756 May 3, Bnd. 301P5, EFP; Amy Turner Bushnell, "The Menéndez Márquez Cattle Barony at La Chua and the Determinants of Economic Expansion in Seventeenth-century Florida," Florida Historical Quarterly 56 (1978): 418.
38. Appraisal of the estate of Diego de Espinosa, 1756 May 3, Bnd. 301P5, EFP.
39. Inventory of Impounded Property of Pablo de Hita y Salazar, 1681 March 10; Sale of slaves of Pablo de Hita y Salazar, 1681 May 30, AGI EC 156-A.
40. Appraisal of the estate of Diego de Espinosa, 1756 May 3, Bnd. 301P5, EFP.
41. Appraisal of the estate of Diego de Espinosa, 1756 May 3, Distribution of estate of Diego Espinosa, September 3, Bnd. 301P5, EFP.
42. Appraisal of the estate of Diego de Espinosa, 1756 May 3, Bnd. 301P5, EFP.
43. James M. Smith, Before the White Man: The Prehistory of St. Johns County, Florida (St. Augustine: Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, 1987), 31; William C. Fleetwood, Jr., Tidecraft: The Boats of South Carolina, Georgia and Northeastern Florida —1550-1950 (Tybee Island, Ga.: WBG Marine Press, 1995), ch. 3 and 4; Susan R. Parker, "Canoes: Workaday Water craft in Eighteenth-Century East Florida," El Escribano, 24 (1987): quote on 53. A letter from Sebastián Creagh to Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, 1791 September 24, Bnd. 121D10 no. 201, EFP, described the need for alternate routes when roads were flooded.
44. Appraisal of the Estate of Diego de Espinosa, 1756 May 3, Distribution of estate of Diego Espinosa, September 3, Bnd. 301P5, EFP; will of José Guillén, 1743 December 17, in Claim of Antonia de Averó, Bnd. 319, Claim no. 19, Town Lot Claims, SLG; "Inventory of Papers and Goods Belonging to Don Francisco del Moral Sánchez," AGI SC 58-2-12; Statement of Don Agustín Guillermo Fuentes y Herrera, 1727 March 27, included with his petition of 1734 April 29, AGI, 86-7-21/6.
45. Appraisal of Estate of Diego de Espinosa, 1756 May 3, Bnd. 301P5, EFP; Inventory and Appraisal of the Estate of Francisco Menéndez Márquez, 1743 May 2, AGI SC 58-1-34/73.

CHAPTER 7

FOOD

My greatest concern is for supplies, and if we get none,
there is no doubt that we shall die of hunger.

—Governor Manuel de Montiano, 1740

Ordinary Spanish Florida colonists left more information about their clothing and shelter than they did about their food—the third element of the universal trio of essential needs. Concerns about food, or its professed shortage, engendered a relatively large amount of documentation in the administrative correspondence of Spanish Florida. When faced with imminent attack by foreign troops, Florida's governors fretted more about the food supply than about the stockpile of munitions. Preparing for an invasion in 1740 by British forces from Georgia, Governor Manuel de Montiano wrote to his superior in Havana in March of that year about his unease that lack of food could well result in a Spanish surrender, and "that nothing else so much deserves our attention." Then, on May 10 and 15, Montiano sent duplicate dispatches to Cuba, claiming that "we are in extreme want, without food."¹

Surely the officials at times exaggerated and obfuscated in their desperation to get a positive response from superiors, which made it difficult for later generations to assess the reality in the colony. Narratives which

repeatedly bemoaned the impending starvation of Florida's colonists provide most of the picture of food for Florida's first two centuries. Less dramatically worded rosters of arriving cargoes that were paid for by the situado provide another and less subjective facet of the picture.

Anthropologist James Cusick was able to investigate the foods available to Florida colonists in the second Spanish period, using probate records and cargo information in addition to archaeological artifacts. Cusick discerned differences in behavior among several regional, cultural, and status groups through the varying amount of edible imports consumed by those respective groups.² Registers of the arrival and departure of vessels and their cargoes contain information on private activities for the second period. The registers provide information on what was discharged at Florida's docks, landings, and bulkheads. They also indicate what items the colonists were producing in surplus and what the colonists could send to other areas. For example, although we can see that residents shipped cheese and butter out of the colony during cool months in the 1790s, similar documentation is not available either to support or deny such activity during the first period. Individual-level and personal documents, upon which this dissertation substantially, relies hardly ever addressed the issue of daily fare.³ Shipping registers for private transactions are not available for the first period.

Assessment of food consumption has relied heavily on archaeological studies. As historian Michael Gannon states, the depiction "could not have

been drawn using archival sources alone," because of the absence of documentation and the available documentation's bias arising as officials invoked hyperbole and inveigled to make their cases for the supplies that they wanted. Gannon asserts that "the historians can offer certain correctives to the archaeological record," noting that numerous items do not survive well in the soil.⁴ We should also take into consideration that bias in the archaeological record also exists by virtue of what was, in fact, never present to enter the soil as refuse. Foods that arrived in Florida bearing few or no bones, scales, hulls, husks, or seeds left no (or very little) physical trace.

Throughout the entire colonial period, Floridians perceived themselves as existing in a supply situation that was very vulnerable to shortages. Much of the constant consternation over food was generated by the fact that Florida's administrators and citizenry expected to have a sizable portion of their food supplied as part of the crown's support for the military post. The expectation itself led to frustration and a feeling of dependency and want, and thus complaints. In locations where colonists expected no assistance to feed themselves they would hardly complain. In Spanish Florida, bad weather or blockades, which hindered supply vessels, could result quickly in disruption of shipments and subsequent shortages. Another irritant was that supplies obtained through military procurement procedures often cost much more than those acquired through the commercial market. Historian John TePaske pointed out such instances for eighteenth-century Florida when market prices

taxed, they appeared in documents. And the cultural importance of cattle in some parts of Iberia and the cultural association of beef consumption with social status in some parts of Iberia, especially the southern part of the peninsula, also made cattle worthy of the written word.⁷

Food supplies from the hinterland began to diminish in 1680s with the English assault on the missions, their ensuing retraction and ultimately their near demise after the attacks of 1702 and 1704. Historian Amy Bushnell asserts that after the English breached Spanish exclusivity of Indian labor, the colony had to "look seaward for its support."⁸

Fish, game, and food grown for use by the consuming household or that were acquired or grown for private sale or trade hardly appear in the official correspondence. Remarks in random descriptions revealed the use of these locally available foods. Father Solana wrote

the citizenry maintain themselves most of the year with salted, meat, fish, which is abundant in the river, and some vegetables. . . . There are many fruits like in Spain: white and black figs, peaches, quince, mulberries, berries, plums, grapes sweet and sour oranges. In Apalachee there are in abundance chestnuts, nuts, apples, strawberries and cherries.⁹

A parenthetical remark made by Antonio Pueyo forty years after he had seen the garden told of melons growing in Pedro Gómez's yard.¹⁰

Iberians and other Europeans modified their diets in the contact and founding periods in response to new environments. Native American's alter their diets in response to Old World cultigens and also to the stress of

British colonial officials would have been any more willing to turn to Spanish sources in times shortage than vice versa. Empires and nations in both the past and the present tended to act protectionist toward the producers of their own nation while such behavior often raised prices for the consumers of that very nation. But Spanish Pensacola shared supplies with nearby French Mobile and vice versa in time of shortages because of the family alliance maintained between the Bourbon monarchs of the respective nations.

Foods produced within the Florida colony can be further divided into two categories for the first century of European settlement: those produced in the hinterland by missionized Natives and those produced on Euro-American ranches and small farms or plots. Anthropologist Kathleen Hoffman surmised that interior missions did not much supply St. Augustine, as they did for the post in Apalache. The friars at the Franciscan convent in the capital, however, seem to have used their close relationship with the mission villagers to acquire food that was not so readily available to the capital's lay residents. Archaeological excavations suggested "heavy reliance" by the convent residents on venison and chicken, both of which Hoffman claims were rare and expensive in the town. Historian John Hann concluded that cattle raised in Apalache either fed the residents in that area or was sent to Havana as food and by-products. Hann flatly stated that meat from Apalache did not supply St. Augustine; the La Chua ranch, in the peninsular interior near today's Gainesville, was the beef source for the capital. Because cattle were

taxed, they appeared in documents. And the cultural importance of cattle in some parts of Iberia and the cultural association of beef consumption with social status in some parts of Iberia, especially the southern part of the peninsula, also made cattle worthy of the written word.⁷

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Iberians and other Europeans modified their diets in the contact and founding periods in response to new environments. Native American's alter their diets in response to Old World cultigens and also to the stress of

European demands upon Native-grown food.¹¹ By the Second Century colonists altered their consumption to adapt to a changing supply situation arising out of international warfare on both land and sea. Foods that were expected from extra-Florida sources were viewed as the most endangered and brought about the most complaints and correspondence.

Throughout the Second Century the kinds of foods arriving in the colony remained generally the same. Grains and preserved meats comprised the bulk of the imported foods. The growing Atlantic-wide trade probably made more sorts of foods affordable.

Florida officials and the Royal Havana Company negotiated a supply contract in 1742 which well illustrated the provisioning situation.¹² Several kinds of ground grains made up the list. Contracted goods were to include flour grown both in Spain and in New Spain, the latter twenty per cent more expensive than the Iberian product. Likewise, flour from New Spain's San Andrés valley and corn from the island of Cuba would also feed Florida's residents. The origin of the rice shipment, the cheapest of the grains, was not specified. Although Florida officials had requested cassava (which was measured by size rather than weight) grown in the Mexican interior, the contract eventually negotiated did not specify any required place of origin. Beans, described only by the generic term frijoles completed the starchy items. Colonists also expected salt to be shipped in.¹³

Meats were brought in as well and Florida colonists relied on both imported and domestic meat. Beef and pork arrived in both barrels and boxes. Hams and "little hams" (*jamonicos*) also supplied protein. Given the processed condition of the meats imported into Florida, Florida colonists probably consumed more meat than the bone remains from archaeological excavations indicate.¹⁴ But mostly boneless dried and smoked meats, except for hams, would leave little to reveal their colonial presence.

Colonists ate locally raised cattle throughout both of first and second Spanish periods as evidenced by documentary evidence in both appraisals and narratives.¹⁵ Father Solana reported in 1760 that an Englishman operated a butcher shop in St. Augustine. Unlike his predecessors, Governor Lucas de Palacio submitted a report contemporary with that of Solana that the residents were well supplied with fresh meat.¹⁶

Cargoes unloaded from British ships deposited the same sorts of foods—flour and meats—that were brought in by Spanish sources. According to British sources, butter and cheese were cargo from British ships in the 1710s, but dairy products did not appear on the Spanish manifests until the 1750s. Historian Joyce Harman's compilation of the British traffic in and out of St. Augustine was based on South Carolina documents. Her list showed a relative spate of activity between 1716 and 1718 of deliveries of flour, meat, and dairy products. Following a period of inaction after 1718—or perhaps lack of documentation—Harman listed even more shipping activity for the middle of

the 1730s, but in most cases there were no description of arriving cargo. These ships were departing St. Augustine in "ballast only," implying the discharge of cargo at Florida's capital.¹⁷

In the 1750s the provisioning contracts disclosed that a wider variety of foods was available but that still the majority of government imports were grains and dried meats. In the 1750s Spanish sources began to offer biscuit as well a flour, but the items under contract remained very similar to those originally set up with The Royal Havana Company in 1742. British sources could add salt cod, cheese and lard and beef fat.¹⁸

The white wine and the oil from Spain were not considered to be food items. They were listed along with waxes and lengths of silk, which suggests that they were for sacramental rather than dietary use. No rum or other spirits were listed.¹⁹

The appearance of copper coffee pots and coffee mills in inventories indicated the availability of coffee; an item listing "sacks of cocoa" attested to chocolate's availability, both apparently from private sources.²⁰ Inventories included cooking implements used for the preparation of imported, luxury foods or at least foods that were enhancements in the diet rather than basic fare, as evidenced by jelly pans and coffee mills and pots, not ordinary cooking vessels.

Information gleaned from archaeological excavations has expanded the picture of the foodstuffs consumed in Spanish Florida. When the sorts of

arriving foods and those produced in Florida are compared to each other, it becomes apparent that imported foods were largely processed. Not only did processing lengthen their edible life, but reduction of the bulk in the processing reduced cargo space required for such foods and made their shipment affordable. Historian Murdo MacLeod points out the interplay of bulk and distance in the profitability of shipping. With foods, perishability increased along with distance.²¹

Given this compression and manipulation of grains and animal meats, archaeology can enlighten regarding locally produced foods. Archaeologists Elizabeth Reitz and Stephen Cumbaa analyzed the biomass from local animals and asserted that high status households relied more on domestic animals, while lower status households consumed more food from estuarine sources. But the excavations reveal relatively less about foods shipped in, especially the processed foods supplied by the subsidy.

Conclusions

Foods were either locally produced or imported. Arriving foods had to be both transportable and durable. The more calories per cubic vara of cargo space, the more desirable the item from the perspective of shipping. Foods sent to Florida also needed to be shipped in a form that would travel well and arrive as edible. Processing—milling, husking, butchering, smoking—compacted foods and often added longevity to their "shelf life."

Contracts made for provisioning Florida in the eighteenth century demonstrated that grains of several varieties were needed. Shipping of grains raised in Iberia, New Spain and Cuba spread the government's expenditures around the empire and helped to support growers and employment for processing in several regions. Recognition that the nature of the imported foods left little residue for the archaeological record points out the bias in the artifactual evidence of the food supply.

Notes

1. Manuel de Montiano to Governor of Cuba, 1740 March 24 and May 15, East Florida Papers, Bnd. 37, nos. 191 and 198, respectively.
2. James Gregory Cusick, "Ethnic Groups and Class in an Emerging Market Economy : Spaniards and Minorcans in Late Colonial St. Augustine," Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1993, ch. 8 and 9.
3. Papers on Arrivals of Vessels and Cargoes, 1784-1821, Bnds 214F7 - 241G19; Register of Departures of Vessels, 1784-1821, Bnds. 242H19 - 258K20, EFP.
4. Michael V. Gannon, "The New Alliance of History and Archaeology in the Eastern Spanish Borderlands," William and Mary Quarterly 49, 3rd ser. (1992): 326.
5. TePaske, Governorship of Spanish Florida, 78-101, gives various examples of the problem for the first six decades of the eighteenth century.
6. See Donna L. Ruhl, "Spanish Mission Paleoethnobotany and Culture Change: A survey of Archaeogotanical Data and Some Speculations on Aboriginal and Spanish Agrarian Interactions in La Florida," 555-80 and C. Margaret Scarry and Elizabeth J. Reitz, "Herbs, Fish, Scum, and Vermin: Subsistence Strategies in Sixteenth-Century Spanish Florida," both in David Hurst Thomas, ed., Columbian Consequences: Impact of Hispanic Colonization in the Southeast and Caribbean (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990). For the role of food in exhibiting and as

a indicator of class and status, see Cusick, "Ethnic Groups and Class," and Elizabeth J. Reitz and Stephen L. Cumbaa, "Diet and Foodways of Eighteenth-Century Spanish St. Augustine," in Kathleen Deagan, Spanish St. Augustine: The Archaeology of a Colonial Creole Community (Orlando: Academic Press, 1983) 151-85.

7. Terry G. Jordan, North-American Cattle Ranching Frontiers: Origins, Diffusion and Differentiation (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), ch. 2, especially 23-25.

8. Hoffman, "Development of Cultural Identity," 173-4; Bushnell, Situado and Sabana, 211.

9. Juan José Solana to Julián de Arriaga, Report on the condition of St. Augustine, 1760 April 9, AGI SC 86-7-21/41.

10. Sworn statement of Antonio Pueyo, 1801 March 2 (testifying to pre-1763 evacuation matters), Claim of Nicolasa Gómez. Bnd. 320, No. 82. Town Lots SLG.

11. Scarry and Reitz, "Herbs, Fish, Scum, and Vermin."

12. The Royal Havana Company was a joint stock enterprise similar to the British East India Company and modeled after Spain's earlier Caracas Company. In the typical style of Spanish royal monopolies, privileges and concessions were granted by the crown in exchange for responsibilities undertaken by the company: maintaining a coast guard around Cuba, repress smuggling, free freight for military goods and to furnish Florida its annual quota of money supplies. The hard currency sent from Puebla for Florida's support was required to be sent to Havana, where officials of the company would purchase supplies and food for Florida in consultation with Florida's governor and his council. TePaske, Governorship of Spanish Florida, 87-98.

13. Contract between Royal Officials of Florida and Royal Havana Company, 1742 April 12, included King's decree made at El Pardo, 1744 January 16, AGI SC 87-3-12/62.

14. Contract between Royal Officials of Florida and Royal Havana Company, 1742 April 12, included King's decree made at El Pardo, 1744 January 16, AGI SC 87-3-12/62. Scarry and Reitz reported excellent bone preservation at the three excavated, sixteenth-century sites which they analyzed in "Herbs, Fish, Scum, and Vermin," 346.

15. Inventory of Impounded Property of Pablo de Hita y Salazar, 1681 March 10, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 156-A (Reel 27-J, PKY); will of José Guillén,

1743 December 17, in Claim of Antonio de Averó, Bundle 320, Claim no. 19, Claims for Town Lots, Spanish Land Grants (hereafter SLG) , Florida Division of Historical Resources, Tallahassee; appraisal of estate of Diego de Espinosa, 1756 September 3, Bnd. 301P4, EFP.

16. Contract between Royal Officials of Florida and The Royal Havana Company, 1742 April 12, included King's decree made at El Pardo, 1744 January 16, 87-3-12/62; Juan José Solana to Julián de Arriaga, Report on the condition of St. Augustine, 1760 April 9, 86-7-21/41; Lucas de Palacio 1761 January 20, 86-6-6/16. All in AGI SC.

17. Joyce Elizabeth Harman, Trade and Privateering in Spanish Florida, 1732-1763 (St. Augustine: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1969), 83-91.

18. Contract Prices Negotiated with Englishman Jesse Fish, resident of New York, 1754 February 1; Contract Prices offered by [The Royal Havana] Company, 1756 September [n.d.], both in AGI SC 87-3-13/70.

19. Contract between Royal Officials of Florida and The Royal Havana Company, 1742 April 12, included in King's decree made at El Pardo, 1744 January 16, 87-3-12/62; Contract Prices offered by [The Royal Havana] Company, 1756 September [n.d.], 87-3-13/70, both in AGI SC.

20. "Items Remaining in St. Augustine on May 10, 11, 12, [1764] Belonging to His Majesty and Other Individuals." AGI Cuba 372, transcribed by José La Torre Navarro, typescript in Mark F. Boyd Collection, Division of Historical Resources, Tallahassee, Florida.

21. Murdo MacLeod, "Spain's Atlantic Trade, 1492-1720," in Leslie Bethell, ed. The Cambridge History of Latin America (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 1: 354-55.

CHAPTER 8 RETAILING AND PERSONAL FINANCE

He who does not value a cent, will never have a dollar.
(Quien no aprecia el céntimo, nunca tendrá un duro.)
—Spanish proverb

Colonial Florida residents have appeared as brave settlers and soldiers, religious fanatics, missionary priests, forced laborers, but seldom if at all have they been assigned the more mundane roles of consumers. In part this perspective stems from Florida's strategic function in the Spanish empire and thus the attendant role of its residents. The colony's primary purpose was military; the crown supplied or arranged for many of the needs of the population. Additionally, in the historiographical tradition which invoked deprivation as the modus vivendi, wherein a meal featuring domestic or draft animals would be tantamount to a banquet, historians tended not to focus on private enterprise or financial relations.¹

Thus, historians of Spanish Florida have asked few, if any, questions about the dynamics, logistics, or mechanisms involved in the non-governmental or non-military acquisition of goods nor about retailing or the accompanying interpersonal financial arrangements. Civilians and off-duty soldiers are almost invisible. Ordinary soldiers have been portrayed as

perpetually indebted in advance of their salaries, but there has been no investigation of the operation of the debt or credit experiences of most individuals². Nor has there been any attention in the literature to intentional debt, that is, credit obligations arising out of business endeavors or property acquisition. Indeed, interpersonal finance in the colony awaits investigation.

Historian Eugene Lyon stands out as an exception in works about the first settlers. Lyon described and analyzed the financial arrangements which Pedro Menéndez de Avilés negotiated with the Spanish crown and with his kin to finance the colonial enterprise in the 1560s. Lyon has also provided examples of interpersonal debt among the founding generation. His work illustrates the complexity of finance and the material wealth of some residents within a unique group. The arrangements and persons reflected a first-generation cohort which had access to the financial and material wealth of Iberia in a scenario of founding that would not be repeated in later years.³

These questions about colonial Florida are indeed important. Who sold to whom, and how was the transaction paid? What was sold and where did it originate? Who loaned and who owed? How was debt secured and, if needed, its collection enforced? With minimal development in the Florida countryside, concerns about more complex issues, such as forward and backward linkages, that have been addressed for other North American port towns are premature and may well be moot. Carville Earle and Ronald

Hoffman describe backward linkages as "those impacts on economic activity in the producing region occasioned by consumer demand within that region." Forward linkages refer to "those impacts on economic activity created by the movement of staple exports from production sites to consumption sites beyond the region."⁴

Florida's scanty historiography of commerce does not stand alone among circum-Caribbean places. Historian Allan Kuethe has observed that in the case of Havana, the legal supply center for Florida, a systematic study of the entrepreneurial sector of Havana and its business practices has not yet been attempted.⁵ Thus any analysis of Florida cannot incorporate or even build upon an understanding of the business arrangements at the port which ranked next above Florida in the shipping hierarchy and was most frequented by Florida merchants in the first half of the eighteenth century. Florida entrepreneurs probably adopted Havana's business practices.

Historian Murdo MacLeod's hemispheric perspective on shipping assesses Florida's handicapped position as a result of the delivery process, which developed in the context of environmental verities as much as financial forces. Florida was physically at the end of the route of the Americas-bound fleets. MacLeod explains what maps do not reveal: "Florida, quite close to Spain in geographical distance, and certainly closer than Cartagena and Veracruz, was the most distant destination of all for ships coming from Spain

and bound for the Caribbean." Goods initially destined for Florida were often appropriated to offset shortage or spoilage in some port of call which was earlier in the circuit. "Far more important than the geographical distance between ports was the distance in time." The delay of a few days in the tropics could transform food supplies literally mouldering in a ship's hold from edible to impalatable.⁶

Debts and Debtors

Contemporary narrative observations about colonial Florida's stores, shopkeepers, and their wares came from government officials and priests rather than from the shopkeepers, investors or importers themselves. Officials composed their observations and assessments about the material well-being of the colony from their own perspective of having to deal with the government budget and procurement policies and the activities of trading companies operating under royal aegis.⁷ Universally, legal and ordinary activities do not generate much notice. Florida's administrators gave little more than passing mention to private activities. In fact, such endeavors usually merited comment if they were illegal or negative in some other way. Historian Joyce Harman looked to British colonial documents from South Carolina and to Charleston newspapers to probe the contraband trade in

Spanish Florida. Her study has stood almost alone for nearly three decades as the portrait of commerce in eighteenth-century Florida.⁵

Eugene Lyon's optimism regarding the sixteenth century that "commercial documents—the very stuff of trade and business—abound in the Florida records" cannot yet be extended to the 1700s.⁶ The removal and loss in 1763 of personal documents, ledgers, notarized records of contracts and debt instruments, and records of civil suits left a fragmentary and scanty base for examining financial relations among the residents.

Within this void, a few wills and inventories must suffice. The will of José Guillén, written in 1743, provides an inside glimpse. His testament offers one of the few excursions into the perspective of the individual, not officials or foreigners, about retailing and credit activities of residents of Florida and St. Augustine. His testament offers detail about small-scale trade and retail outlets and the financial arrangements associated with the enterprises. Employing a common Spanish testamentary practice, Guillén set forth in the will his accounts payable and receivable, how he bequeathed his material goods, and gave instructions for his funeral service and memorial masses. Rather than itemizing all accounts within the will itself, some testators referred executors to chests which contained promissory notes or to other accounting documentation, such as the "account book of the amounts I still owe, and those owed me" of Francisco Menéndez Marquéz. Family

members or executors often safeguarded the chests or strongboxes. Other testators, however, described the location, usually within the residence, where such a chest might be found.¹⁰ Guillén detailed his accounts both in his will and in other writings. In doing so, he was continuing testamentary procedures followed by the earliest European settlers of Florida as portrayed by Lyon in Richer Than We Thought.¹¹

Contemporary British colonial wills, on the other hand, did not typically offer such detailed information on personal debts. At the individual level, the Hispanic cultural penchant for codification and written accords appeared in Spain's Atlantic frontier regions, such as Florida, while Anglo confidence in common law and a greater reliance upon oral agreements and moral obligation prevailed in the British areas.¹²

Guillén's will delineated more commercial debt than did the other available documentation made by his contemporaries, and the sums owed to others and due to him were larger as well than the other examples. Guillén itemized debts owed to him amounting to more than 800 pesos. Additional outstanding debts were substantiated by documents which he stated were in his possession, but with no other elaboration in the will itself. One of Guillén's largest debtors was his business partner, Sergeant Fernando Rodríguez.

Rodríguez was a creditor himself as well as a debtor to Guillén. Clemente Hilario owed Rodríguez 140 pesos representing clothing and food,

which Hilario had been supplied by Rodríguez "from my [Rodríguez's] house." The obligation to Rodríguez equaled more than half of Hilario's annual salary of 248 pesos as a harbor pilot (práctico).¹³ Two women, Josefa de los Angeles y Laso and Isadora Rosas, owed Rodríguez eleven pesos and about five pesos (42½ reales) respectively for reasons not specified. Other debts were listed in a separate book, but without special instruction in the will as to their disposition; these debts would become part of the residual of his estate. Rodríguez set forth specific obligations in the body of the will to ensure that the money be distributed to the religious causes which he chose, rather than the funds accruing to the "universal" heir, the beneficiary of the remainder. Rodríguez made no mention of his own indebtedness although the inclusion of debts was a common practice. Perhaps he owed none. In the intervening two decades since José Guillén's death, Rodríguez had either paid what he owed in conjunction with their business ventures or had arranged to satisfy the debt by making Guillén's widow the residual heir (universal heir) of his estate. In that way, Rodríguez forestalled suffering diminution of assets during his own lifetime.¹⁴

In general, debts in Florida were small and one's debtors were few, in keeping with the scope of commerce in the colony. Five persons owed small sums to Diego de Espinosa when he died in 1756. Individual obligations of 20, 19, 16, 14, and 4 pesos totaled only 73 pesos. Francisco Menéndez

Marquéz named individuals whom he owed and also referred his executors to "some notations" in his account book for other obligations. Menéndez admitted owing Juan de la Valla the price of a vest and 12 pesos to José de Briones. Menéndez stated that five named persons were owed "the amount that they may say" and that Pedro Neri held a promissory note with the entire face amount still due. Two of these debts were loans made to "provide him support." Menéndez owed debts also to the Spanish royal treasury and named the treasury as his heir in hopes of offsetting his "excesses."¹⁵

Obligations of a few reales each were owed to religious charities by Gerónima Rodríguez in 1737 (no apparent relation to the above Fernando Rodríguez) and Domingo Escalona in 1755. These small Christian commitments were the only debts of these individuals and became payable upon death. Obligations to local and distant Roman Catholic Church charities had to be satisfied. Obligatory gifts to the parish church's maintenance fund and to the hospital fund supported local needs, while sums for the Holy Places of Jerusalem and for [Religious] Captives combined with those of contributors from all over the Catholic world.¹⁶ Small slips of paper or marginal notations on estate documents served as evidence of payment.

Debts set up to be paid over time were often secured by valuable possessions such as buildings or slaves, especially as those items proved too expensive to be paid at purchase.¹⁷ It is likely that boats served as collateral

as well, but the limited documentation provides no examples. Governor del Moral owned several slaves for whom he had no bills of sale, which indicated that money was still owed for the acquisition of the laborers. The inventory of his confiscated possessions listed "a slave with eight pesos due for whom a bill of sale has not been made." When José de Escalona bought a house from Juan Méndez and Micaela González in 1727, the purchaser arranged to pay the 200-pesos price over time at 80 pesos per year—a hefty obligation equal to half of a infantry soldier's annual salary.¹⁶

In addition to individuals, confraternities were noted for acting as institutional lenders to members, often using monies from rents received from properties willed to them such as the bequest arranged by Sgt. Fernando Rodríguez (see chapter 9). The specifics of confraternity loans for the first Spanish period are not available, but those from later years in Spanish Florida illustrated the practice. In 1791 Roque Leonardy received a loan of 100 pesos from the Confraternity of Souls in Purgatory to be repaid at the rate of one peso per month; no interest rate was set forth. Leonardy mortgaged a house and lot to secure the loan.¹⁹

Retailing

Retail activities and the movement of numerous, small goods required flexible and fluid credit and payment arrangements. Consignment or similarly

contingent arrangements were the process and form of supply, credit and payment in individual commerce in the Florida colony. In a domino-like process, activity at the final point of purchase generated payment in a sequential manner to the suppliers. Movement of money at this time often meant just that: the physical delivery of cash from debtor to creditor. Historian Antonio García-Baquero González asserts in his examination of Spanish mercantilism and trade that entrepreneurs regarded money as an "authentic lubricant of the economy." Cash was necessary for sustaining commercial traffic, but not necessarily for accumulating capital. Abundance of cash enabled easy credit and low interest rates, but according to García-Baquero its accumulation was not equated with wealth.²⁰

Aboard his own ship, a bilander named "Blessed Christ of the Solitude, San José and Souls in Purgatory," José Guillén transported goods purchased from individuals in Cuba and Hispaniola to be sold in Florida. He dealt with suppliers in Havana, Puerto de Príncipe, and Guarico. Guillén was involved in a number of small ventures with several different partners in Florida as well as in the Caribbean in a variety of arrangements at both the acquisition and sales ends. On a small scale, Guillén illustrated historian David Hancock's observation about British participants in the burgeoning Atlantic trade that there was "no one way" to set up business arrangements. In some ventures Guillén's partners placed the goods in their own shops, and later delivered

Guillén's share when the items sold. Guillén subsequently and proportionately paid his suppliers in the Antilles.²¹

In-kind contributions by all parties made for personalized arrangements and served well in a time and a society wherein hard cash was always in short supply. Guillén's will suggests that his partners furnished their own services as shopkeepers and the space for shops as at least a part, and perhaps all, of their share of the investment. Lodging provided by Guillén to his shopkeeper and possibly other in-kind considerations also were part of the arrangements.²² Guillén put 620 pesos worth of "different items of merchandise" under the control of Salvador de Porras for Porras to "oversee in the shop which he presently has." At the time Porras, born in southern Spain, was still a bachelor. Porras and Guillén agreed to "divide" the profits although no specific percentages were mentioned in the Guillén's will. At the time that Guillén dictated his testament, Porras had delivered to his partner only 50 pesos in payment of an unspecified total.²³

Another business arrangement, between Guillén and Antonio de Mesa, included lodging for Mesa in one of Guillén's buildings.²⁴ Guillén did not elaborate upon his agreement with Mesa, probably because Guillén's wife safeguarded papers which documented the deal with Mesa. Guillén did clarify that the arrangement with Mesa was "similar to" that with Porras. But in

restricting the details to the eyes of the parties, Guillén also made them unavailable to those who would be interested centuries later.²⁵

Other business partners of Guillén did not perform as shopkeepers, but provided capital and perhaps connections. Sergeant Fernando Rodríguez and José Guillén each committed 300 pesos to capitalize a joint venture. At the time of Guillén's death, the sergeant still owed him 200 pesos.

Unfortunately Guillén did not relate in what sorts of goods he and Rodríguez invested. Perhaps Rodríguez assisted in acquiring wares through personal connections in his native province of Galicia in northern Spain or in the Caribbean.²⁶ Four and a half dozen bowls (escudillas) were in Rodríguez's possession when he died in 1762. The presence of so many bowls of the same kind by a long-time widower suggests that the ceramic items were imported for retail purposes, rather than personal use, and that he might well have brought in similar cargoes during his long residence in St. Augustine.²⁷

On the other side of the ledger, Guillén also detailed the debts that he owed for merchandise. His largest obligation was 200 pesos owed to José Miranda of Havana. He also owed debts of: 117 pesos to Antonio Lazo [no known city]; 114 pesos to José Rodríguez of Havana; and 155 pesos to José [illegible] of Puerto de Príncipe. For sugar, which had been shipped in boxes of different sizes, Guillén owed 102 pesos, 51 pesos each to Jacinto Castellón and Cristóbal de Sayas. Smaller debts of 88 pesos to José

Romero, of 22 pesos to Antonio Urbano to Melo, and 14 pesos to José Espinosa, were also outstanding in Havana. Guillén identified Urbano de Melo a "resident" (residente) of Havana rather than "citizen" (vecino), the term which Guillén used for his other creditors in that city. Urbano de Melo was the widower of a woman of the Menéndez Marqués family of Florida and therefore a son-in-law of the colony's accountant. The captain-general of Cuba (1734-1736), Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, like Urbano's deceased wife, was a descendant of the Menéndez family that founded Florida and Urbano might have been able to use this kin connection to his advantage in his business dealings in Cuba as well as in Florida.²⁸

To forestall any questions, Guillén clarified that he had imported several hundred pounds of nails from Havana, which were already paid for and in the possession of his wife. He did not mention the debt that he had owed to Governor del Moral in 1737; so it had apparently been paid off by the time of Guillén's death. He admitted to indebtedness to persons in Guarico as well, but did not itemize the obligations to the merchants of that city. His will directed that all these should be satisfied.²⁹

Was there any collateral or surety pledged to protect the credit extended by Guillén's Caribbean associates? It is difficult to believe that Guillén's suppliers would leave themselves vulnerable to non-payment, but the will did not mention any such pledges. The merchants in the islands

might have possessed leverage or assurances, which cannot be inferred from the will, such as personal relationships wherein honor could be invoked. Nor was there any mention in the will of interest charges upon either Guillén's accounts payable or receivable. Guillén might have purchased the goods at a credit price rather than at a lower, cash price. J. H. Soltow described the different pricing for cash vis-à-vis credit purchases that was used by Scottish companies in the contemporary British American colonies. This common practice resolved and offset the financial disadvantage to the supplier arising from delayed payment.³⁰

On the Caribbean-bound leg of the voyage, Guillén's ship might have carried some Florida products to be sold in Cuba or Hispaniola rather than sailing totally in ballast, with Guillén or his captain possibly serving as the agent or factor for fellow Florida colonists. Eighteenth-century Spanish Florida was not a net producer of exports, but Florida had from time to time sent onions and smoked fish and naval stores to Havana over the years. The constricted nature of Euro-American settlement in Florida because of insistent threats from British colonists and their Indian allies kept Florida residents close to the protection of St. Augustine. Additionally, the Florida colonists were probably hesitant to invest goods or the labors of themselves or their slaves into planting activities which would be so readily subject to destruction. Still, some did venture into the countryside to establish productive projects.

Crops requiring little labor and investment, however, continued to be attempted, such as the orange grove along the St. Johns River near Tocol mentioned by Governor Montiano in 1740. Colonists even undertook to develop plantations with the assistance of their slaves near the fort of Mojoloo on the St. Johns.³¹

The men who engaged in the retail trade with Guillén had all arrived from other parts of the Spanish empire; they were not Florida-born. Guillén was born on Spain's eastern coast, known as the Levante. Porras claimed Córdoba in southern Spain as his native province, and Sergeant Rodríguez spent his early years in Galicia in the northwestern part of the Iberian peninsula. Guillén's shop tender Mesa was a New World native from Veracruz in New Spain.³² Perhaps their "outsider" status encouraged them to establish trading ties among themselves rather than with native-born men. Immigrating men could and did establish connections through marriages with local women although none of the individuals involved in Guillén's ventures were part of his wife's (Antonia de Avero) family. It was a time when family business networks and the influence and the *entrées* that kin might provide was of paramount importance in commerce.

Guillén's shopkeeping partners, Porras and Mesa, were bachelors and Porras was not enlisted in the military. Their single-life situations probably allowed for more time and flexibility to tend to retail demands. Shopkeepers

of contemporary stores in Virginia were also generally unmarried.³³ Likewise in Mexico, merchants in the eighteenth century were primarily Iberia-born and tended to bring their nephews over to apprentice in their stores. Historian D. A. Brading points out that this pattern is based on literal, not statistical sources. Brading also describes a merchant role which is similar to what one finds in Virginia, wherein merchants extended capital for purchases that were essential in production of a crop which would subsequently be marketed by the merchant.³⁴ With Florida's ability to grow cash crops frustrated by international hostilities, the role of stores was less developed and integrated into the economy and more resembled the merchandise outlets of today than the intricate and integrated trans-Atlantic institutions that pivoted around staple crops.

It might have been that Florida-born retailers leagued together, but the documentation regarding any Florida creole merchants has not been located. Quite possibly their access to venture capital was more limited than it was for men from other areas. Florida residents surely suffered near financial devastation from the destruction brought by the 1702 English siege, and the losses must have negatively effected their ability to finance commercial ventures.

The shops supplied by Guillén and overseen by his partners or employees served the Florida colonists at the very time that Francisco de San

Buenaventura y Tejada, Auxiliary Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, resident in Florida, was claiming in 1736 that the English had driven all the Spanish stores out of business. At the time, however, Florida's governor owned three stores of which the bishop disapproved. The churchman wrote that there were three English stores, one dedicated only to selling "provisions" and had "never kept any other class of goods." There was also a "permanently located Italian" store. The town's citizens resented the competition of the foreigners and all complained about the increase in duties which made prices exorbitant.³⁵

The bishop's correspondence with the captain-general of Cuba might have been, in fact, more concerned about the entry of Protestant ideas than of British manufactures or British American foodstuffs, but he made his appeal to the king's mercantilistic interests rather than to the sovereign's spiritual side. Despite disclaimers, the prelate's animus toward Florida's Governor del Moral shows through in his letters. It colored his reporting of the Florida situation and also shapes our acceptance of his words. San Buenaventura reported that British traders and seamen entertained themselves and scandalized pious Hispanic pedestrians with "heretical, indecent dances in St. Augustine's streets"—further evidence of the depravity that accompanied the English.³⁶ Pedro Sánchez Griñán also described what he had observed of St. Augustine's commerce in the early 1740s, but was forced to rely upon his

memory, for his report was written from Madrid fifteen years after he had departed Florida. Sánchez Griñán recalled that

ten or twelve stores [sold] rum, wine, vinegar, sugar, tobacco, spices, lard, soap, tallow candles and other provisions with a few kinds of silk, wool, linen goods, ribbons and other trifles.³⁷

The changeability of the trade situation in the Atlantic world during a century of imperial wars could turn legitimate trade and permissible sales quickly into contraband activities. Goods and merchants once permitted quickly became outlawed with the declaration of war or even with changes resulting from lesser diplomatic commercial negotiations. Not only did certain goods become forbidden, but the price of those items which continued to be permitted could and did soar. The advent of war between Great Britain and Spain in 1739 no doubt altered the trade and retail situation described by the bishop, however biased his words. Warfare limited availability of British and Spanish goods and drove up prices on all freight because of the increased costs of doing business. British wares became legally embargoed while Spanish American and peninsular goods were physically restricted by virtue of diminished shipping or captures. Historian Carl Swanson claims that nearly 60 per cent of Spanish ships sailing to the New World from the Old fell victim to British privateers during the war and that trade within the Caribbean dropped as well.³⁸ The viewpoint of chroniclers in Florida reflected their

sense of personal and immediate deprivation, perhaps with little thought or understanding of the magnitude of the dilemma. But complaints heard and written in Florida at the time were no doubt repeated in several languages throughout the Atlantic world.

Stores and Shops

Participation in retail trade enabled improvement in social and material status. Salvador de Porras moved on from partnership with Guillén to deal directly with the British. He also progressed from a single-room existence in the house of Doña Gerónima de Hita in the middle of the 1740s to the control of two properties by 1763. One site, on St. George Street, was provided by his wife's family. The other was a two-story shellstone building on the section of the waterfront which had been bulkheaded and thus was usable for docking and loading. It was located near the landing which was in front of the plaza. De la Puente's map depicted a heavier concentration of buildings among the lots adjoining the seawall. A high percentage of land was covered by buildings in this waterfront area in comparison to the rest of the town.³⁹ In 1760 English merchants were selling retail, dry goods on the upper story of Porras's building on the bay. An evacuation inventory of the building listed a store counter among the assets.⁴⁰

Another store was located on the lot next to Porras in one of the buildings in Diego de Espinosa's compound on the waterfront. The listing of the particulars of Porras's location resulted from the general community-wide upheaval caused by the departure of the Spanish from Florida and described the main attributes of the property, while the appraisal of Diego de Espinosa's property was performed in the much more orderly accounting of post-mortem assets. The appraisal of Espinosa's estate provides the most detailed picture available of a retail setting. Two of Espinosa's buildings occupied the bayside lot: a flat-roof building (casa de azotea), and a small, two-story house on the waterfront.⁴¹

The master mason's and carpenter's assessment revealed that the space used for the store occupied two rooms. There was a shop space (tienda) and a storeroom (bodega), in the flat-roof building (casa de azotea) which was located on a street corner. Masonry arches enhanced the building's loggia. Floor space for the two rooms used for retail purposes measured 58 square varas (about 430 square feet). The shop had a masonry floor, most likely of tabby, and wall of tabique (a tabby interior wall approximately nine inches in thickness)⁴² separated the shop from the storage area. Other interior walls were of tabique as well. The storage area shared a wall with the dining room (comedor), while the shop space abutted the entry hall (zaguán). The building also housed a public space for residential use,

such as a drawing room (sala) and two other, private rooms, probably bedrooms (aposentos), one of which opened on to the dining room.

Apparently Diego de Espinosa was not the owner of the goods sold in the shop, for the estate inventory did not include any retail items.

Retail activities in the building of Antonio Rodríguez Arfian across the street from Espinosa also occupied two rooms: the room for the shop with a counter and a built-in cabinet and an adjacent storage room.⁴³ Thus retail outlets in the urban setting in Florida used a public display area with an adjoining storage space. Prominent streetside access was not necessary if the merchandise was highly sought. Customers were willing first to seek out and then to climb stairs if the product was cloth, as evidenced by the upstairs location in Porras building on the waterfront.⁴⁴

Conclusions

In the eighteenth century world of an ever increasing supply and variety of retail goods, St. Augustine's shopkeepers and merchants endeavored to provide items desired by the residents in generally straightforward retail outlets. Florida's stores did not perform in the dual roles of provider of manufactured or processed goods and also of marketing agent. But in agricultural areas which grew staple crops, such as Virginia's tobacco-growing regions, trading stores served as both factor to transfer out the raw

produce and as retailer of consumer goods to Euro-American growers.

Trading stores likewise trafficked in both directions for Native Americans, who delivered mostly peltry as produce. Clients came into St. Augustine shops to purchase items with the monies—sometimes with specie, sometimes with not-yet-disbursed salary—acquired as payment for the purchasers' services to the Spanish crown as military men or in supporting positions for the military organization..

Although the trade was small, it was formalized. The protagonists were not lackadaisical and irregular in their business habits. Barter was not the modus operandi. Cash was the means of exchange. Accounting books kept track of purchases and payments. Small slips of paper served as promissory notes often signed with an illiterate debtor's cross mark. Shops performed in a businesslike manner. Retail space was located in building areas that were specialized, dedicated to sales, with retail "furniture" such as counters and cabinets and separate rooms for the storage of additional merchandise, rather than limited to some corner of a dwelling, where domestic life and retail life merged.

While account books and small-size promissory notes verified the negotiated arrangements, other financial arrangements were also set up in detail. Sergeant Rodríguez set forth the terms under which Our Lady of Solitude confraternity could collect the rents from his property. Debts were

not readily written off by either individuals or religious organizations.

Sergeant Rodríguez had no dependents nor even close kin to benefit as recipients of monies owed to him, but he intended for his executor to pursue collecting his debts even if it meant turning out debtor Clemente Hilario's family from their home. The sergeant was not without charity, for he freed his slave rather than transferring ownership of her labors to a confraternity or to a godson. Hilario's debt was not to be forgiven and his dying creditor instructed that collection was to proceed in the established way.

Joint ventures were the foundation of retail businesses. Partners might contribute equal or unequal sums of cash or goods; some partners offered in-kind services or beneficial personal connections. José Guillén's partnerships featured several different arrangements, illustrating Hancock's observation that there was a variety of ways to set up commercial ventures in the Atlantic world of trade.⁴⁵ Owners of the merchandise and the shops attempted to preserve their cash which was needed to purchase more retail goods. They restricted the cash costs of maintaining the sales outlets by offering assets, such a lodging space, which they already owned for use by the shopkeepers rather than depleting their cash by paying salaries or commissions. This practice did, however, restrict any cash which the shopkeeper himself could put in circulation in the local economy. Anthropologists Stephen Gudeman and Alberto Rivera interpret this type of labor trade as a strategy of a market

economy rather than a reciprocity practice associated with peasants and a moral economy. This use of a nonmonetary transaction within the market context is due to the cash saving it permits."⁴⁶

Official dismissal or omission of reporting on retailing explains the historical lack of attention to civilian finances in colonial Florida. By means of constant contact and interchange with Havana and often illegally with Charleston and other British American ports, Atlantic-wide commercial ideas and tactics were imported into the colony. Procedures and practices introduced by men arriving from Spain added elements to the financial tableau of Florida. Florida might not have been wealthy and the commercial scope was small, but its residents were participants in the ways of international trade.

Studies of both Spanish and British commerce and trade have focussed on the years following the latter third of the eighteenth century. Historian David Brading points to the Seven Years War with Great Britain as the "catalyst of change."⁴⁷ Administrative reforms by Bourbon rulers of the Spanish empire brought changes to commercial organization as well as to other areas of society. Both Brading and John Kicza investigated Mexican commerce for a period subsequent to the 1763 departure of the Spanish from Florida. Scholars of British American business also have focussed on the years following the Seven Years War. Not only were the 1760s a punctuation

point as Great Britain's tremendous industrial growth transformed the character of Atlantic trade, but more and improved data are available for investigation for that period as well.⁴⁸

Spanish Florida residents evidenced commercial and financial activities which were incipient versions of the practices that would become widespread following the Seven Years War. As Kizca would find for Mexico several decades later, Spanish Florida residents relied on credit. They diversified their investments, and made different contractual arrangements with different individuals as both Kizca and David Hancock recognized for Mexican and for British entrepreneurs, respectively. Floridians also separated ownership and management of retail outlets.⁴⁹

After 1763, British entrepreneurs and men of commerce built businesses and forged commercial networks of a scope unknown before the war. The subsequent ascendancy of Great Britain in transatlantic commerce and the historiographical interest in the topic of British vigor has overshadowed the earlier, nascent activities themselves and also the exploration of the role of non-British locations in the development of transatlantic commerce. But here we recognize the existence of the activities in Spanish Florida prior to the post-1760s changes in Atlantic commerce.

Notes

1. This description paraphrases John Jay TePaske's remark about cats, dogs, and horses being real delicacies. The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700-1763 (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1964), 5, 6, 83 n. 29.
2. John Jay TePaske, The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700-1763. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1964); Luis R. Arana, "The Private Soldier in Florida, 1672-1763." November 7, 1975. Ms. on file at Castillo de San Marcos National Monument; Charles W. Arnade, "The Failure of Spanish Florida." The Americas 16 (1960):271-281; Florida on Trial, 1593-1602. Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1959; The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1959.
3. Eugene Lyon, The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568 (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976) and Richer Than We Thought: The Material Culture of Sixteenth-Century St. Augustine. (St. Augustine: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1992).
4. For analysis of some contemporary British American southern locales, see Jacob M. Price, "Economic Function and Growth of American Port Towns in the Eighteenth Century," Perspectives in American History, 8 (1974): 123-86; Carville Earle and Ronald Hoffman, "Staple Crops and Urban Development in the Eighteenth Century South," Perspectives in American History, 10 (1976): 7-78; quote on p. 8 n. 1. Russell R. Menard, "Financing the Lowcountry Export Boom: Capital and Growth in Early South Carolina," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., 51 (1994): 659-76.
5. Allan J. Kuethe, "Havana in the Eighteenth Century," in Franklin W. Knight and Peggy K. Liss, eds., Atlantic Port Cities: Economy, Culture, and Society in the Atlantic World, 1650-1850 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990), 14.
6. Murdo MacLeod, "Spain's Atlantic Trade, 1492-1720," in Leslie Bethell, ed., The Cambridge History of Latin America, Vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 341-88, quotes on 354 and 353, respectively.
7. TePaske devotes a chapter to the workings of the colony's economic policy. Governorship of Spanish Florida, Ch. 4.
8. Joyce Elizabeth Harman, Trade and Privateering in Spanish Florida, 1732-1763 (St. Augustine: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1969).

9. Eugene Lyon, "Settlement and Survival," in Michael Gannon, ed., The New History of Florida (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), quote on 56.

10. Father Pedro Camps pointed out in his will where to find the chest that held his accounts. Estate of Pedro Camps, 1790, Bundle (hereafter Bnd.) 308, East Florida Papers (hereafter EFP), Library of Congress Manuscript Collection (microfilm copies at St. Augustine Historical Society).

11. Will of José Guillén, 1743 December 17, in Claim of Antonio de Averó, Bnd. 320, Claim no. 19, Claims for Town Lots, Spanish Land Grants (hereafter SLG), Florida Division of Historical Resources, Tallahassee; will of Francisco Menéndez Marqués, 1742 September 2, Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Seville, Spain, John B. Stetson Collection (hereafter SC), P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, 58-1-34/73; Lyon, Richer Than We Thought presents translated testamentary personal accountings made by Florida's sixteenth-century residents, now conserved in private archives in Spain.

12. Marylynn Salmon, Women and the Law of Property in Early America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 9-13, 55-6.

13. Rodríguez used the term "casa" which might have meant a business venture. Will of Fernando Rodríguez, 1762 July 27, in Claim of Antonia de Averó, Bnd. 320, Claim no. 19, Claims for Town Lots, SLG. Hilario's position and salary appear in Don José Antonio Gelabert to the Crown, General list of all who serve and are paid by the king at the presidio of San Agustín, 1752, Havana, AGI SC 87-1-14/2..

14. Will of Fernando Rodríguez, 1762 July 27 and will of José Guillén 1743 December 17, both in Claim of Antonia de Averó, Bnd. 320, Claim no. 19, Claims for Town Lots, SLG.

15. Estate of Diego de Espinosa, 1756 May through September, Bnd. 301P5, EFP; Will of Pedro Menéndez Marqués, 1742 September 2, AGI SC 58-1-34/73

16. Will of Gerónima Rodríguez and Francisco Navarro, 1737 February 14, Bnd. 359; Will of Domingo Escalona, 1755, Bnd. 301, both in EFP.

17. In second Spanish period (1784-1821), sailing vessels were mortgaged. Notarized instruments, Bnds. 301-318, EFP.

18. Inventory of the Papers and Goods Belonging to Don Francisco del Moral Sánchez, 1737 March 22, SC AGI 58-2-12; deed from Juan Méndez and Micaela González to José de Escalona, 1727 February 17, Bnd. 320, Claim no. 75, Claims for Town Lots, SLG.

19. Mortgage from Roque Leonardy to Miguel Yznardy as mayordomo of the Confraternity of Souls in Purgatory, 1791 March 11, Bundle 386, p. 22 ff, EFP.

20. Antonio Garcia-Baquero González, Cádiz y el Atlántico (1717-1778): el comercio colonial español bajo el monopolio gaditano, Vol. 1 (Seville: Escuela de estudios hispano-americanos de Sevilla, 1976), 62.

21. David Hancock, Citizens of the World, London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic community, 1735-1785 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 6-7; will of José Guillén, 1743 December 17, in Claim of Antonio de Averó, Bnd. 320, Claim no. 19, Claims for Town Lots, SLG.

22. Will of José Guillén, 1743 December 17, in Claim of Antonio de Averó, Bnd. 320, Claim no. 19, Claims for Town Lots, SLG.

23. Will of José Guillén, 1743 December 17, in Claim of Antonio de Averó, Bnd. 320, Claim no. 19, Claims for Town Lots, SLG; marriage of Salvador de Porras and Juana Navarro, 1745 February 8, Cathedral Parish Records (hereafter CPR), Diocesan Center, Mandarin, Florida.

24. Guillén used the term casa to described the building in which Mesa resided, which could mean any house owned by Guillén. Elsewhere in the will, Guillén uses the term morada to specify the house of his residence. Thus Mesa might not have shared Guillén's residence.

25. Will of José Guillén, 1743 December 17, in Claim of Antonio de Averó, Bnd. 320, Claim no. 19, Claims for Town Lots, SLG.

26. Will of José Guillén, 1743 December 17, in Claim of Antonio de Averó, Bnd. 320, Claim no. 19, Claims for Town Lots, SLG.

27. Will of Fernando Rodríguez, 1762 July 27, in Claim of Antonio de Averó, Bnd. 320, Claim no. 19, Claims for Town Lots, SLG.

28. Will of José Guillén, 1743 December 17, in Claim of Antonio de Averó, Bnd. 320, Claim no. 19, Claims for Town Lots, SLG; marriage of Antonio Urbano de Melo to Manuela Menéndez Marquéz, 1721 April 14; burial of Manuela Menéndez Marquéz, 1737 March 11, CPR; Rosa María García-Weaver, "The Private Archive of the Count of Revillagigedo," El Escribano 30 (1993): 97-98.

29. Will of José Guillén, 1743 December 17, in Claim of Antonio de Averó, Bnd. 320, Claim no. 19, Claims for Town Lots, SLG.; Inventory of the Papers and Goods Belonging to Don Francisco del Moral Sánchez, 1737 March 22, SC

AGI 58-2-12.

30. Will of José Guillén, 1743 December 17, in Claim of Antonio de Averó, Bnd. 320, Claim no. 19, Claims for Town Lots, SLG; J. H. Soltow, "Scottish Traders in Virginia, 1750-1775," Economic History Review, 2nd series, 12 (1959): 94.

31. Genaro García, Relación de los trabajos que la gente de una nao llamada Nra. Señora de la Merced padeció y de algunas cosas que en aquella flota sucedieron, escrita por Fray Andrés de San Miguel, publicada por primera vez por Genaro García (Mexico: Casa de F. Aguilar Vera y Compañía, 1902 Manuel de Montiano Letterbook, 1740 February 23, Bnd. 37. no. 187, EFP.

32. Will of Fernando Rodríguez, 1762 July 27, and will of José Guillén 1743 December 17, both in Claim of Antonia de Averó, Bnd. 320, Claim no. 19, Claims for Town Lots, SLG; marriage of Salvador de Porras to Juana Navarro, 1745 February 8; marriage of Antonio Mesa to Gerónima Santollo, 1746 September 26, CPR.

33. Soltow, "Scottish Traders," 86.

34. D. A. Brading, Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763-1810 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 95-106.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Michael Scardaville and Jesús María Belmonte, [eds. and trans.] "Florida in the Late First Spanish Period: The 1756 Griñán Report," El Escribano, 16, (1979): 10.

38. Carl E. Swanson, Predators and Prizes: American Privateering and Imperial Warfare, 1739-1748 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 180-84.

39. Will of José Guillén, 1743 December 17, both in Claim of Antonia de Averó, Bnd. 320, Claim no. 19, Claims for Town Lots, SLG; Eligio de la Puente map, parcels # 61 and 209.

40. Juan José Solana, "Report on the Condition of St. Augustine," 1760 April 9, AGI SC 86-7-21/41; Charles W. Arnade, "The Architecture of Spanish St. Augustine," The Americas, 18 (1961): 178.

41. Appraisal of the estate of Diego de Espinosa, 1756 September 3, Bnd. 301P5, EFP. Espinosa's estate also claimed a residence and its masonry kitchen on the opposite side of today's Charlotte Street.
42. Manucy states that tabique was a partition wall of 9-inches. The Houses of St. Augustine, 1565-1821 (St. Augustine: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1962), 99.
43. Appraisal of houses of Don Antonio Rodríguez Arfán, 1763 October 22, Bnd. 359, EFP.
44. Juan José Solana, "Report on the Condition of St. Augustine," 1760 April 9, AGI SC 86-7-21/41.
45. Hancock, Citizens of the World, Ch. 1.
46. Stephen Gudeman and Alberto Rivera, Conversations in Columbia: The Domestic Economy in Life and Text (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 109.
47. David A. Brading, "Bourbon Spain and Its American Empire," in Leslie Bethell, ed., Colonial Spanish America (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), quote on p. 122.
48. Brading, Miners and Merchants; John E. Kicza, Colonial Entrepreneurs: Families and Business in Bourbon Mexico (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 46, ch. 5, 6, 7, 10.
49. Kicza, Colonial Entrepreneurs, 135-53, 230-33.

CHAPTER 9 CONFRATERNITIES IN SPANISH FLORIDA

The confraternities appear to be more in
number than this presidio can support.
—Father Juan José Solana, 1760

The scene was familiar to the residents of St. Augustine. Alerted by the bells, residents watched the solemn procession moving through the alleys and streets of the town. The priest carried the viaticum to the bedside of a townsman whose remaining earthly hours were few. Members of the Confraternity of The Blessed Sacrament held long wax tapers as they escorted the Eucharist borne by the priest. Throughout the Spanish world passersby would pause in their activities as such processions moved along. It is said that even King Charles II halted his coach in a Madrid street and descended in reverence to accompany a death-watch party.¹

Members of one of the religious brotherhoods would next supervise the funeral and take part in the requisite number of masses for the salvation of the soul of the deceased. If the decedent had sufficient finances, the will would provide a legacy to support the projects of the confraternities in which he or she held membership.

Confraternities offered opportunity and organization for laypersons to participate in, not just be recipients of, the rituals of the Roman Catholic Church. Robert Kapitzke's study of the clergy in Spanish Florida briefly examined these lay organizations. Kapitzke continued the traditional historical focus on the institutional aspects of organizations and the relationships among the clergy and between them and the colonial officials. The brotherhoods appear almost as a postscript in the context of the ecclesiastical structure, as manifested in Kapitzke's almost parenthetical remark: "finally, a word must be said about the cofradías in St. Augustine."²

But confraternities were no mere postscript in the eyes of the residents. Historian A. J. R. Russell-Wood has called these institutions the "warp and woof" of urban life in Latin America. Ordinary citizens of Florida held their own perspectives about the brotherhoods, which were not necessarily reflected in the official correspondence, for the administrators' communiques focused upon budgetary details, supplies and governance. The confraternities played a larger role in the lives of the residents than they did in the colony's administration.

In a military colony such as Spanish Florida, the confraternities offered one of the few opportunities for ordinary individuals of both sexes to make decisions within a corporate body and to participate with more influence than was generally allowed within the rigid military hierarchy. Both Maureen Flynn and Gary Graff noted in their studies of confraternities that within the

organizations a more egalitarian relationship existed, or was at least encouraged, among their members, who otherwise lived in a rank-conscious and hierarchical society. Focussing on Europe, Flynn states: "As conceived in the minds of members, confraternities were microcosms of the ideal Christian world of love and equality among believers." Focussing on Spanish America, William Taylor, Olinda Celestino and Albert Meyers see the confraternities as a venue for mediating unequal social relationships.³

From the perspective of the laity in Spanish Florida the confraternities allowed for some sense of equality generated within religious activities that one finds among the laity in contemporary areas of British North America. Historian Patricia Bonomi sees the experience of equality and individuation developing within a religious context during the Great Awakening in British America. She asserts that this development provided an intellectual and psychological basis for a more assertive political role and that the experience gained in participation in religious services acted as a training ground for political action.⁴ Although the confraternities of Spanish Florida did not radicalize the colonists, the organizations did offer a leveling ingredient in a very hierarchical society. Placing the laity in Spanish Florida within the larger world of colonial worshipers enables a comparison of the role of religion for laypersons across boundaries of empires and boundaries of organized and often adversarial Christian sects.

Just as throughout the other Spanish Catholic colonies, religious organizations composed of laypersons in Florida—confraternities, brotherhoods, and third orders—focused their activities on the advancement of public worship and on "pious works" (*obras pías*). According to historian Maureen Flynn, confraternities were a medieval, church-wide development and, therefore, existed throughout pre-Reformation Europe. The episcopacy sanctioned them and encouraged the growth of the institution which promoted orthodoxy of religion in both belief and practice. The confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament, Rosary, Souls in Purgatory, and Christian Doctrine were designed especially for that end. To the members the confraternities offered organized and approved activities for attaining salvation through acts of mercy or other pious exercise. After death, members could rely on the community of the confraternity to offer spiritual support, by means of prayer and good works, for the decedent's salvation and the hastening his or her passage through Purgatory. Popularity of the brotherhoods was so widespread that Flynn asserts that, "Indeed, the confraternities may have encompassed into their membership the majority of the population in the urban centers of Europe."⁵

Confraternities were more numerous in Spain than in other parts of the European continent,⁶ and the establishment of Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the New World coincided with the high point of the confraternities in the Iberian peninsula. This social institution was transferred to nascent colonial cities and towns, where it began a life of its own as a colonial entity exhibiting

pre-Reformation vigor in the Americas, while its popularity and influence waned in post-Reformation Europe.

The examination of these lay religious organizations not only provides a better understanding of the social life of colonial Florida, but reveals that the colony's capital was very much a part of the Spanish world in its reflection of metropolitan culture. Although very much a "part of the colonial microcosm," these institutions "have failed to elicit from scholars a degree of interest commensurate with their importance," according to Russell-Wood. These organizations in Brazil offered companionship and physical and financial assistance to colonials who moved about, hopeful but often misinformed on the chances of financial improvement in new locales. These hopefuls often found themselves without the presence of family for support and also without the profit envisioned in their dreams.⁷

Several areas of the New World have provided the "laboratories" for historians of the colonial Americas to study lay fraternal organizations, particularly Brazil, Peru, Mexico, and Guatemala. The minute books, accounting ledgers, and codes of by-laws and privileges of chapters in scattered locations in Latin America have provided documentary material. Especially interesting to historians have been the confraternities whose members were of African ancestry, both slave and free, in urban centers of colonial Brazil. The self-generated archives of these organizations have

provided an opportunity to study the behavior of blacks functioning in a fairly autonomous role.⁸

Russell-Wood has concentrated on the sodalities in the urban centers of Brazil, ranging from the elitist third orders of Salvador to the slaves confraternities of the urban areas. The less urbanized region of the Peruvian mountains of New Granada drew the attention of Gary Wendell Graff. Alicia Bazarte Martínez's study of confraternal life in Mexico City relies on more than three centuries of chapter records. Chapter records also provided documentation for Maureen Flynn's study of confraternal life in the mother country, specifically the brotherhoods of Zamora in the province of León in northwestern Spain. Adrian van Oss looked at Indian confraternities in rural areas of Guatemala. William Taylor focussed on priests and parishioners in eighteenth century Mexico to analyze the organization of public life. But he focusses mostly on Indian confraternities, supported by indigeneous populations that were much larger and widespread than in Florida and with access to substantially more assets.⁹

Confraternities were simply too important to Florida colonists not to discuss them here although the documentation is limited and scattered. The location of the books maintained by the brotherhoods that functioned in St. Augustine is unknown, should they still survive. Spanish colonial officials took the books documenting St. Augustine's religious life as well as the religious paraphernalia with them when they evacuated the peninsula in 1764 after the

colony's cession to Great Britain. In addition to the baptismal, marriage, and burial records of the evacuees and their ancestors, the floridanos transferred to the Cathedral of Havana, the altars, ornaments, banners, and other objects belonging to St. Augustine's parish church and confraternities. Perhaps the archives of the brotherhoods still remain tucked away somewhere within the cathedral's walls. A 1727 list of Florida-bound supplies further tantalizes us with its mention of a record book kept by the steward of St. Augustine's Blessed Sacrament confraternity. But for now, the reports by governmental and ecclesiastical officials must provide the information about the organizations in Florida, while the parish burial records reveal a partial membership list. Wills recount the commitments of members to the religious organizations.¹⁰

Although the membership of confraternities was composed primarily of laymen and laywomen (priests were also members), the organizations existed within the formalized structure of the Roman Catholic Church. Brotherhoods were "erected by ecclesiastical authority," that is, by the bishop of the see who approved their charters. In Florida's case, this was the bishop of Santiago in Cuba. Some confraternities were universal, such as Blessed Sacrament, and, therefore, functioned similarly throughout the Catholic world. New World Indian confraternities, on the other hand, were often dedicated to a local saint and existed only within a single location. Every parish, however, was to have a Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament (Santísimo Sacramento), the first chapter having been confirmed in 1539 by the Pope, who granted it numerous

indulgences and explicitly called it a model for other confraternities. A 1685 report on the lay organizations in Florida stated that St. Augustine's chapter of The Blessed Sacrament was founded in 1655 although Amy Bushnell described genteel participation in that confraternity in the 1620s.¹¹

Whether in Florence, Madrid, Lima, Mexico, or St. Augustine, the Blessed Sacrament confraternity promoted devotion to the Eucharist. Its members cared for the main altar and the tabernacle, maintained the perpetual tabernacle light and provided an escort for the taking of communion to the sick. In the absence of records for St. Augustine, the constitutional rules from chapters in other colonial cities can reasonably be extrapolated to apply to St. Augustine.¹²

In St. Augustine confraternities directed their activities primarily toward the altar and the sick bed. The most frequently described activities of confraternities in the Florida capital were the maintenance of the religious accouterments and ministering to the sick, especially in the running of the hospital. And in this regard, the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament and that of Our Lady of Solitude (Soledad), which focused on those concerns, respectively, were the pre-eminent organizations in the Florida presidio. Throughout the Spanish realm vagabonds and the "idle poor" also received succor from confraternities. But St. Augustine was not accessible to beggars wandering from town to town, and its military regimen discouraged vagrancy. Therefore, it is doubtful that the itinerants who "shocked the sensibilities" of

citizens and visitors in other Spanish urban areas were present in St. Augustine, and poor relief was not a major focus of the town's confraternities. The persistence and pervasiveness of the obligation of Blessed Sacrament's members to escort Communion to the dying was evidenced in the Florida governor's attempt to control the bell-ringing that accompanied the ritual. Governor Diego de Quiroga y Losada (1687-1693) complained that "it has been the custom since time immemorial to ring the bells when the Blessed Sacrament leaves the church until it returns" and also to use the bells to call forth the "accompaniers." Quiroga was concerned that the pealing might overshadow any alarm bell that might be needed to signal the approach of an enemy. Because the guardhouse was next to the church building, one night the soldiers had been kept on alert from 10 P.M. to 2 A.M., and he wished such further "embarrassment" to be avoided. Substituting a small altar bell for the ritual resolved the problem.¹³

Functions and Ceremonies

Processions and celebrations to commemorate their patrons were the annual high point of the confraternities' existence. Such events added sparkle and fun to the lives of Florida colonists. Colorful and luxurious cloth shields or standards moved outdoors for the religious processions. Blessed Sacrament sponsored the most important procession of the liturgical year, Corpus Christi, a week-long moveable feast which began fifty-seven days after Easter. On the

feast day the standards, statues, dignitaries, and the members of the confraternities paraded along streets strewn with palm fronds and fragrant herbs or grasses. Dancing followed the solemnities.¹⁴

In addition to the Corpus Christi observation the confraternities were obligated to sponsor and support processions on Easter, St. James Day (Spain's patron saint) in July, and thanksgiving for the naval victory at Lepanto (el día de la naval), when Christian forces turned back the Islamic threat. Over time certain celebrations were eliminated from Florida's liturgical year and from the streets; others took their place. For example, in 1685, the festivities associated with the feast days of St. Michael and St. Andrew had been suspended by royal order throughout the empire. The Florida confraternities were responsible for expenses associated with the celebrations as well as for the hours of work required from its members. The crown assumed responsibility for the cost of candles for the masses on certain feast days, and at his discretion the governor could order the royal cannons fired as part of a celebration, with the crown donating the gunpowder. Coronations and royal marriages and births were also celebrated as they came to pass.¹⁵

Chapters and Their Members

The Spanish settlers established confraternities upon their arrival in La Florida. Over the decades new confraternities were established, probably reflecting the changes in regional origins of Florida's citizenry as different

regions revered different saints and religious events and emphasized different charities or good works. Men from Castile and Andalucía began arriving in the 1680, altering a century of a self-sustaining creole population and one of Asturian preeminence. The new soldiers brought with them the contemporary practices of Iberia as well as preference and devotion for their own regional and cultural patron saints.

Francisco de la Rocha and Francisco de Cigarroa stated in a 1685 report that one of several Holy Cross confraternities had been founded at the same time as the presidio itself and that of the Immaculate Conception was nearly as old, instituted at the inception of the Franciscan convent. De la Rocha and Cigarroa specified that Solitude confraternity was a creole creation, inaugurated by the native-born children of the founding soldiers. Florida-born residents—second-generation Euro-Americans—had started the hospital organization of Solitude about 1605, the same year that Souls in Purgatory was organized. Rosary brotherhood was established in the 1620s.¹⁶

Florida was not a colony of merchants. It had no mining except for coquina. It had bare subsistence agriculture. It exported few goods. It was a military colony with its capital a presidio and its population had a thoroughly military stamp. The coffers of the brotherhoods were inextricably tied to the military budget and to the officials who administered the money. Confraternal dues were deducted from a soldier's base pay along with the assessments for food, uniforms, and medical and hospital care.

Treasury officials oversaw the proportionate payroll deductions. Candle wax and ornaments used by the confraternities could not be acquired in St. Augustine; items had to be purchased elsewhere in the empire by government officials and charged against the deductions from the soldier-members' salaries. For example, in 1685, True Cross, Immaculate Conception, and Solitude confraternities assessed their members four reales annually, and Blessed Sacrament required an initial membership fee of eight reales. Not all the funding of the confraternities was subject to royal treasury control. Blessed Sacrament required its members to beg weekly for alms, and Souls in Purgatory and Rosary depended upon donations, not required fees. Citizens retained the control of the confraternal accounts of these three organizations and did not allow the military structure to handle the funds.¹⁷

Simultaneous membership in several confraternities was common. Members could transfer from a chapter in one location to that in another town or parish. Soldiers arriving in Florida from other parts of the Spanish empire could bring membership in the religious organizations with them. The 1685 report of de la Rocha and Cigarroa revealed multiple memberships in confraternities among St. Augustine's military men. The report shows that four of the local confraternities each counted more than eighty soldiers as members. (This report addressed only the soldier-members.) The sum of memberships reported for soldiers of the presidio was 520, at a time when the total strength of the garrison hovered at 300. Father Solana in 1760 held the

opinion that there was a surfeit of brotherhoods and that they were more than what he termed "the poverty of the place" could support. He claimed that the Guadalupe confraternity had been brought to near extinction because of spreading the limited funds among too many brotherhoods.¹⁸

A few confraternities were identified with missions and Native American participants. The missions of San Pedro on Cumberland Island and of San Juan del Puerto on Fort George Island in 1602 both had True Cross confraternities with Native American membership. At both locations villagers held two processions during Holy Week, with the Indians purchasing the banners and candles used during the observations.¹⁹

Just beyond the town wall of St. Augustine the Indian villages of Tolomato and Nombre de Dios (or Macaris) each had its own church and corresponding confraternity. These organizations received non-Indian support as well. The Nombre de Dios mission villagers belonged to the La Leche brotherhood, which dated from the colony's beginning—"in primitive times." Nombre de Dios villagers took advantage of the propinquity to the capital for currying favor and sponsorship from the colony's highest officials. In 1678 the villager-members elected Governor Pablo de Hita Salazar to be their steward and put treasury officials into all the other offices. The flattery succeeded, for Hita built a stone church for the village. Decades later soldiers contributed to the re-building of the stone church at La Leche.²⁰

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the church of Our Lady of Guadalupe and its confraternity was located just beyond the western defense wall of St. Augustine in the Tolomato mission village. La Leche and Guadalupe confraternities received donations from peninsular and creole soldiers. Iberian-born Sergeant Fernando Rodríguez left bequests in his will to both Guadalupe and La Leche. Rodríguez assigned his uncollected soldier's pay to four confraternities, which included Guadalupe and La Leche. He also bequeathed one-fourth of an unpaid debt to La Leche. He ordered that memorial masses for himself be said at the mission church of Guadalupe, which would, of course, receive its share of the fees for the services.²¹

Another sort of lay religious organization, third orders, universally restricted its members to one such third-order organization at a time. Such a restriction was a moot point in Florida, where the Third Order of St. Francis was the sole organization of its kind. Membership in a third order might have been associated with an elitist attitude and carried sufficient status to preclude many members from feeling the need to join other confraternal organizations. Diego de Espinosa's accounting itemized the expense for his burial at the Franciscan convent, but no other confraternal membership obligations had to be satisfied according to his probate accounts. On the other hand, those who endowed or belonged to several confraternities, like Fernando Rodríguez and Domingo de Escalona, were not associated with the third order.²²

The Third Order of St. Francis was the lay organization for which there is the least commentary about its activities or situation. Third orders were the most exclusive and according to Russell-Wood the most financially viable of the sodalities in the New World. The content of much of the correspondence of Florida officials and observers focused on financial insufficiency and thus a solvent organization received few remarks. Father Solana did not even mention the order's existence in Florida, yet the parish burial records furnish plenty of evidence of the order's membership and benefactors. Russell-Wood claims that there had to exist a "critical mass" of financial resources, social prominence, and support by government and church officials before a third order could be instituted. Therefore, third orders were not usually established in the early years of a life of a town. Third orders also enjoyed a much better survival rate than brotherhoods: the latter often were founded by faith alone and then foundered.²³

Potential members of third orders had to demonstrate that they had the resources to pay the annual assessments as well as make additional financial contributions. St. Augustine parish records indicate that Florida's third order was composed of the elite and more affluent of the colonial population. The burials at the Convent of St. Francis, where the order had its seat, represent Florida colonists of locally high rank. In formulaic testamentary language, Francisco Menéndez Marquéz directed that his body was to "be shrouded with the robe of the Order of our Seraphic Patriarch, St. Francis, and interred in the

church of that convent in the grave which I already have selected there." Christian benevolence also permitted the interment of some charity cases, ("buried with alms") in the Franciscan cemetery.²⁴

Third orders selected their headquarters with status of association and physical appearance in mind.²⁵ The headquarters of the Franciscan friars in Florida suffered from the same shortage of funds that plagued all the crown-funded entities and surely presented a less pretentious image than many other loci of the third orders in Spanish America. Still, in the context of the Florida colony, the convent served as the headquarters of the mission effort and was linked to a hierarchy separate from the military organization. The hierarchical autonomy of the friars offered a form of elitism.

Financial and Performance Obligations

Confraternities provided collective support for members, and for non-members, in times of stress. Flynn found that the members in Zamora rarely violated their obligations to the welfare programs for the relief of sickness and poverty and the salvation of souls. Men and women gathered around the sickbeds and caskets of their confraternal brothers or sisters, for throughout the Spanish world, to be "accompanied" was one of the most "frequent and heartfelt concerns" of those facing death, and one of the main reasons why members joined confraternities. Even during St. Augustine's early days, members of the Brotherhood of the Holy Cross were charged to visit sick

members, watch at their bedside "until God took them," and accompany the body to the grave. Poles used to carry the caskets were listed among the possessions of Holy Cross in a 1576 inventory. Funereal obligations to members (cofrades) extended to the spouses of married members as well.²⁶

But Christian charity did not excuse the obligations of either the living or the recently deceased to the collective body. Corporate serenity and security outweighed individual freedom. It has been noted that books of minutes or by-laws for St. Augustine's confraternities are not available at this time, but the accessible documentation indicates that brotherhoods in St. Augustine operated like their counterparts in the Spanish world. Throughout Spanish America the decedent had to be financially current with his or her chapter in order to receive the benefits of members' prayers and burial activities. Delinquent membership dues provided sufficient reason for removal from the rolls. In her 1737 will, Florida colonist Gerónima Rodríguez declared: "[I am] a member of some of the confraternities which are established in this presidio, and [I order] my executors to negotiate with their stewards and to pay what is owed." One-sentence receipts appended to the will evidenced payments of fifteen ducats to Blessed Sacrament, two reales to the hospital and to the church maintenance fund as well as to some bulls. Twenty years later, similar small receipts also verified that the confraternal obligations of Joaquín Escalona had been satisfied by his estate.²⁷

To protect their solvency and to fund their particular charitable goals, many chapters required that the confraternal organization be a beneficiary in members' wills. St. Augustine's parish records disclose that Blessed Sacrament received legacies with frequency. Although the burial records containing the information on legacies to confraternities are restricted to a short period of time, this should be attributed to the record-keeping itself, rather than seen as an indication that such bequests were popular only for the period of their appearance in the burial records. In the winter of 1720-1721, Juan Estéban Montañés, while in St. Augustine conducting a regular investigation made three entries into the book of burials. Adding to the local priest's usually abbreviated record, Montañés enlarged and corrected entries and included information about the decedents' place of nativity and marriage(s) and also bequests that benefitted the Church. Within a few days time Montañés recorded the deaths of Captains Francisco Romo de Uriza and José Sánchez de Uriza, listing a bequest by each man of fifteen ducats to the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament. The next month Francisca Rexidor left the same amount to Blessed Sacrament. But once Montañés was out of sight, the priest reverted to his customary succinct entries, which did not include information on legacies.²⁸

Another criticism of the local priest's slackness in maintaining the parish records came fifteen years later from Bishop Francisco de San Buenaventura. Consequently, the entries were again expanded and improved to cite the

birthplace of the deceased, list current and previous spouses, and provide information pertinent to the death and burial—the number of Masses and Novenas said for the deceased, for example, or exceptional circumstances of the death. Church officials had an interest in recording the legacies that were intended to assist in worship and good works, and in St. Augustine were often essential to providing the ceremonial vessels and consumables, such as candles and oil. These bequests, expenses for the funeral, burial, and Masses and Novenas ordered in the decedent's will were the first items to be subtracted from the corpus of the estate.²⁹

Copies of only a few wills from the Florida's first Spanish period are available to American researchers. One of those is the previously mentioned testament that Gerónima Rodríguez made jointly with her husband, Francisco Navarro, on February 4, 1737. Gerónima, "sick in body and sound in mind," left to the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament "fifteen ducats which the brothers and sisters customarily give to achieve Grace that is conceded [to them] in the article of death." Likewise in the 1743 will of the royal accountant, Francisco Menéndez Marquéz, Blessed Sacrament received fifteen ducats. He also set aside twelve reales for unspecified "obligatory legacies." José Guillén, who died a few months after Menéndez Marquéz, also bequeathed twelve ducats to Blessed Sacrament in his will.³⁰

Sergeant Fernando Rodríguez put much thought and time into the will he drew up in 1762. Sgt. Rodríguez had outlived his wife and son, and in the

absence of an immediate family, the religious organizations benefitted. He was explicit about the financial arrangements designed to benefit his chosen legatees. But Rodríguez's good intentions might well have proved to be elusive funding for the confraternities. The brotherhoods faced the frustrating problem of converting debts owed to Rodríguez into cash; to friends and godchildren went the tangible and readily available items.

In addition to a twelve-ducats bequest to Blessed Sacrament, Rodríguez also assigned one-half of a 140-peso debt owed him by townsman Clemente Hilario, and the remaining half of Hilario's debt to the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary. He ordered his executors to set about immediately to collect this debt, empowering them to sell Hilario's house if the debtor could not pay up. The Confraternity of Our Lady of the La Leche was to receive fifteen pesos from other debts he was owed. Rodríguez assigned one hundred pesos of his back military pay to the Confraternity of Souls in Purgatory for masses for the benefit of his soul, with the remainder of the arrears to be divided equally between the Confraternities of True Cross, Rosary, Guadalupe, and La Leche. Rodríguez also endowed a chantry with the Solitude confraternity. In a practice common throughout the Spanish world, he assigned 25 pesos annually to the organization to be paid out of income from houses which he owned. In return, masses would be said on his behalf on the Fridays during Lent. The bequest to Solitude was equal to almost two months of a soldier's salary.³¹

In the absence of a will the parish records must substitute for information on legacies intended to benefit religious purposes. From November 1735 to December 1741 the parish burial records for whites included summary information on bequests made for pious or charitable purposes. The contemporary burial records for non-whites did not mention such bequests. The economically "inferior" positions of the Indian villagers and blacks probably precluded the ability of most of them to bequeath cash. Support for the confraternities might well have been offered in the form of in-kind services or donations during the life of the member. Foods were often used as contributions in Indian parishes throughout Latin America and the St. Augustine parish also received food.³²

The church had a financial interest in documenting bequests for the support of worship, especially those made to Blessed Sacrament. Many entries refer to the existence of a will for the decedent made in the presence of a public notary, but do not mention bequests for the benefit of religion. Prominent on the list of death-bed donors to Blessed Sacrament were members of the Menéndez Marquéz family. This family descended from Pedro Menéndez Marquéz, the nephew and heir of Florida's founder, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. Family members maintained their favored position for the two centuries that passed between the founding of St. Augustine in 1565 and the departure of the Spanish populace in 1764. The previously mentioned captains Romo de Uriza and Sánchez de Uriza, sons-in-law of Francisco

Menéndez Marquéz, were the earliest listed donors to Blessed Sacrament, each bequeathing 15 pesos. The family's noticeable participation in Blessed Sacrament implies that the confraternity enjoyed the same high socioreligious position in St. Augustine that it did throughout Latin America. Russell-Wood states that Blessed Sacrament was the most eminent of the parochial brotherhoods in Portuguese America. Graff found that on the western side of South America the duty to maintain the Perpetual Light made Blessed Sacrament one of "the most distinguished lay fraternities."³³

Well-to-do members of Blessed Sacrament (and non-members) enhanced their social status with gifts that were used to maintain and embellish the altar. The gifts were not a matter of spontaneous largesse, but an established and expected part of the expense of position for a Spanish gentleman (hidalgo). In the early decades of the seventeenth century, royal officials of Florida donated one-third of the fees that they collected from their tavern inspections and the royal treasurer gave his payroll perquisites to Blessed Sacrament. Funds were needed to purchase the bright and luxurious banners, canopies, and other ornaments needed for the public processions held on religious feast days. The confraternities provided the church with these cloth items as well as silver and gold vessels and holders. The Blessed Sacrament confraternity of St. Augustine in 1759 paid to have a baldachin made in Havana re-using the silver from "candlesticks rendered useless by their old style." One confraternity owned six bunches of artificial flowers.

Artificial flowers were manufactured in the eighteenth century from wax, leather, and glass with vellum leaves.³⁴

When the confraternities' numerous textile items needed repair, it was probably the female members of the confraternities that provided the service. There were veils of brocade and velvet trimmed with fringe or lace of gold or silver, a parasol of crimson damask with gold fringe, altar cloths of Chinese silk and stoles, which needed to be maintained with the reverence and propriety due the Divine. The women of the confraternities probably sewed the habits for the altar boys from the fine black flannel which arrived in lengths of cloth designated for that purpose. And there were silver lamps and candlesticks to be polished.³⁵

In the bequests contained in the parish records of bequests the number of testators leaving money to the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament was almost evenly divided between the sexes. In some confraternities women might well have been the majority, but they took "a definite second place" to men in the administration of organizational affairs. Women were in charge of prayer vigils and decorations for festivals. According to Graff, in New Granada women sat in a separate section and had to surrender their seats to the male members if the chapter meeting were crowded; in Spain women were required to sit at separate tables in silence during feast-day banquets.³⁶

Material Wealth of the Confraternities

Along with the rest of the colony, the confraternities suffered repeatedly at the hands of English enemies. In the 1668 midnight sack of St. Augustine, English pirate Robert Searles and his brigands helped themselves to the silver and gold lamps, chalices, altar cloths festooned with precious metals, and other ornaments that belonged to the church and the confraternities. The crown took responsibility to compensate for losses incurred by its subjects in the colony as a result of enemy action and paid to replace the stolen items with new ones secured the following year in Mexico.³⁷ In 1702, in preparation for a siege by English colonists from Carolina, Governor Zúñiga y Cerda ordered the priests, friars, and administrators of religious confraternities to bring the church items—including statues, ornaments, and bells—into the fort for safekeeping. Although moveable property was saved, the citizens emerged from the fortress after six weeks to a town in ashes. The Spanish themselves had destroyed thirty-odd buildings near the fort to deprive English snipers of cover. The unsuccessful, frustrated invaders burned all but about twenty buildings before retreating to Carolina. The countryside was devastated as well. Outside the capital after 1704, the "Florida missions were no more." English-led raids from South Carolina destroyed the mission system of Florida and thus eliminated the in-kind economic contributions of agricultural products and labor from the missionized villagers.³⁸

The losses were not quickly offset. Some of the confraternal buildings destroyed during the siege had not been rebuilt more than three decades later. In 1736 Bishop San Buenaventura bemoaned the state in which the confraternities found themselves. The bishop found "no vestige at all" of four confraternity chapels or shrines that had previously existed "nor any [of their] ornaments." The "lost chapels" (hermitas perdidas) were San Patricio at the corner of today's St. George and Hypolita streets, San Sebastián, Santa Bárbara, and San Antonio "which was on the bar."³⁹

At the same time, Governor Manuel de Montiano reported to the crown that the church needed royal financial support. The St. Augustine parish church had to rely for its sole support upon the very same brotherhoods that the bishop described to be in such need themselves. But the king was not generous, and instructed Montiano to dedicate himself to the growth of the cofradías.

Confraternities in St. Augustine mirrored those in other Spanish American locations in the sort of property they owned. Rural, and usually Indian, confraternities in Mexico often held herds of cattle as capital, but urban sodalities based their wealth on real estate and the money that they could lend.⁴⁰ Florida had few rural confraternities by the eighteenth century, for the native villages where the confraternities had resided had been destroyed. Those that remained were in the "urban" area of the capital. When the Spanish evacuated Florida in 1763, San Patricio confraternity still owned a lot, although

vacant, on the northeast corner of today's St. George and Hypolita streets. Among its many names during colonial times, today's St. George Street was sometimes called St. Patrick's Street. Eligio de la Puente's map also showed that the Confraternity of Blessed Sacrament owned two tabby buildings located on a parcel bounded by today's Aviles and Charlotte streets and Bravo Lane. One of the buildings was aligned lengthwise along the east-facing side of the block, today's Charlotte Street. Composed of three rooms of nearly equal size, the structure was one room deep. The other building on the confraternity's lot was oriented perpendicular to the easterly edifice, presenting its shorter side to today's Aviles Street. This western building contained two rooms, the streetside room being about twice as large as the other. Engineer Castelló's 1763 map appears to show a very small building located at the corner of Aviles Street and Bravo Lane. Either Blessed Sacrament acquired this property after the 1702 siege or the lot was vacant at the time of the English destruction. The confraternity did not appear on the list of property damages resulting from the English invasion.⁴¹

Excavations of the site did not yield artifacts suggesting a religious function for the lot. A religious medal depicting the Blessed Sacrament was unearthed. One face of the medal was almost identical to Blessed Sacrament medals found by archaeologists at the Santa Catalina de Guale site on St. Catherine's Island (Georgia), the Santa Rosa site in Pensacola, and at the French Fort St. Joseph site in Michigan. Religious medals have been found at

numerous excavated sites in St. Augustine. A folk amulet known as a figa also resided for centuries in the soil of this lot; figas also have been found on many sites in St. Augustine. A small bit of silver embroidery also was exhumed. Religious banners and vestments were embellished with this kind of textile decoration and edging. This textile remnant, which can be encircled between the tips of two fingers, is not, however, sufficient to conclude that this site was used for religious purposes. Excavations revealed little evidence of human occupation or activity at this site from circa 1670 until the construction of the buildings portrayed on Eligio's map.⁴² A very large coquina well at the southwest corner of the lot revealed that the destruction of a seventeenth-century structure on the lot had been rapid. The well was filled in with what appeared to be burned material in the last third of the seventeenth century and was not rejuvenated. This non-use of such a substantial well, left structurally viable despite the interior deposits, suggested that the site was abandoned for some time.

Outside of the defense palisade that surrounded St. Augustine, Blessed Sacrament confraternity owned another parcel with buildings of wood and associated gardens of small fields. Blessed Sacrament might have used both the in-town site and the extramural property for income, perhaps acquired as bequests or through defaulted loans. With its focus on the altar, Blessed Sacrament probably used a chapel in the church for its meeting purposes rather than a separate building. Confraternities throughout the Spanish world

commonly used chapels for their organizational meetings or met at the home of one of the brotherhood's officers. There were, however, also social houses owned by the brotherhoods which existed for meeting purposes.⁴³

The faithful of Florida provided the lay organizations with buildings to support their projects and charities as elsewhere in the Spanish world. Although Fernando Rodríguez's testamentary arrangements were thwarted by the evacuation, which began barely a year after his death, his will set forth a bequest (censo) of a house and lot to Solitude, the hospital confraternity, and specified the amount of income from the property which the confraternity was to enjoy.⁴⁴

The opportunities which the confraternities provided for independence and autonomy were illustrated in the 1680s when the members of Solitude refused to be co-opted during the frequent contests between the governors and the Franciscans. Solitude confraternity existed to provide hospital care and owned property for that purpose. But for years Solitude's chapel had served as the main church. Archaeological excavations of the site, which now belongs to Roman Catholic nuns, the Sisters of St. Joseph, revealed numerous burials. The discovery of associated churchyard burials further attested to the church's location.⁴⁵

Governor Juan Marques Cabrera wanted to bring in another order, San Juan de Dios, from Cuba to administer the town's hospital. The governor probably hoped that the arrival of rivals to the Franciscans would shift the

balance of power from the established friars toward himself. The new religious men of San Juan de Dios, who would run the hospital, would help also to disempower the clique of native-born residents which could obstruct the governor by taking over a needed service from an established confraternity. No doubt, the new hospital personnel would be partisan to the governor who had invited them.⁴⁶

But the members of Solitude confraternity contended that such a move left their organization with practically no property and virtually no function. They contended that it would be wiser to spend money rehabilitating the existing hospital belonging to Solitude rather than constructing a new one. The hospital building belonged to the confraternal corporation and the governor could not summarily dictate its use nor could friars take it over and establish a new monastery on the land. Solitude's spokesperson came out in favor of members of San Juan de Dios manning the facility as long as no proprietary interests were established by them. This situation illustrated the tensions and rivalries among the various arms of officialdom and in the colonial military society of St. Augustine. The members of Solitude confraternity held their own against both the governor and the friars. Several decades later and throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, the primary religious struggle shifted to a Iberian-versus-creole rivalry within the Franciscan order ⁴⁷

Like the Indians who had become citizens of the town, the confraternity found itself cast in the role of a pawn in the power plays. Yet the confraternity's

members resisted. Ironically, the very institutions which the officials were attempting to manipulate in their fights were the very ones which offered to the potential pawns the remedy or at least some safeguards against a diminished status or condition befalling the ordinary citizen.

Conclusions

The confraternal organizations in Spanish colonial Florida served functions similar to their roles throughout Latin America: participation in rituals, opportunities for piety, physical and emotional support for the weak and bereaved. The brotherhoods offered opportunities for ordinary individuals to act in autonomous or independent ways, though they were still circumscribed by the organizational structure of the church and governmental hierarchy. In this military colony and post, chapters associated with artisanal skills and trades never developed, for the skills and trades themselves had only a small clientele.

Native Americans supported confraternities of their own and honored officials and important personages with elected offices in hopes of largesse from the well-placed members of the dominant society to subsidize the Natives' organizations. Natives' incorporation of officials secured favor for their lay institutions in much the same way the honoring of Spaniards and officials with godparentage brought favor to a baptized child or its family (see chapter 3).

Although a Spanish regime returned to the Florida peninsula and Panhandle in 1784, the confraternal organizations did not return to their former important place in the society and in the lives of the residents. A few testators left bequests to confraternities in the early years of the second Spanish period. But as the eighteenth century ended, the corporate beneficiary of death-bed charity in Spanish Florida became the Junta de Caridad (translated as Charitable Society in contemporary documents). The society identity was more intellectualized, by virtue of its association with the idea of charitable works in general, rather than the confraternities' more personal affiliations with specific saints. Reliance on human agency was nudging aside reliance on divine intervention.⁴⁶ In 1803 St. Augustine parish priest, Father Miguel O'Reilly, in the same manner as Sergeant Rodríguez's 1762 bequests, willed five lots to the Charitable Society "with the burden of ten annual masses" for the benefit of a named friend, for his own soul and those in Purgatory. Father O'Reilly left other property to the parish itself, thus identifying the separate organizations of the society and the parish.⁴⁹

Nor was any missionary order re-established in Florida, although this was the very time of the thrust of the mission effort by the Spanish in California. Perforce, there were no mission villages among the Seminole nation, which had replaced the original native people of Native Americans in Spanish Florida. It was an era when religion was giving way to philosophy, philanthropy and

trade throughout the Atlantic world. Religious life among the laity of Florida reflected those changes in part with the disappearing of the confraternities.

Notes

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2. Robert L. Kapitzke, "The Secular Clergy in St. Augustine During the First Spanish Period: 1565-1763," M. A. thesis (University of Florida, 1991), 72-75.
3. A. J. R. Russell-Wood, "Prestige, Power and Piety in Colonial Brazil: The Third Orders of Salvador," Hispanic American Historical Review, 69 (1989): 61; Maureen M. Flynn, Sacred Charity: Confraternities and Social Welfare in Spain, 1400-1700 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), quote on 33; Gary Wendell Graff, "Cofradías in the New Kingdom of Granada: Lay Fraternities in a Spanish American Frontier Society, 1600-1755," Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1973; William B. Taylor, Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 5; Olinda Celestino and Albert Meyers, "The Socio-Economic Dynamic of the confraternal Endowment in Colonial Peru: Jauja in the eighteenth Century," in Albert Meyers, and Diane Elizabeth Hopkins, eds. Manipulating the Saints: Religious Brotherhoods and Social Integration in Postconquest Latin America (Hamburg, Germany: Wayasbah, 1988), 102.
4. Patricia U. Bonomi, Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society and Politics in Colonial America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).
5. Maureen M. Flynn, "Charitable Ritual in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain," Sixteenth-Century Journal 16 (1985): 337; Sacred Charity, 135.
6. "Beyond the Pyrenees, confraternities appear to have been less numerous than in any of the Spanish provinces," Flynn, Sacred Charity, 17.
7. Russell-Wood, "Prestige, Power and Piety," 62.
8. Russell-Wood, "Black and Mulatto Brotherhoods in Colonial Brazil: A Study of Collective Behavior," Hispanic American Historical Review 54 (1974): 567-602.
9. Russell-Wood, "Prestige, Power and Piety," 62-89; Graff, "Cofradías in the New Granada"; Alicia Bazarte Martínez, Las cofradías de españoles en la

ciudad de México (1526-1860) (Azcapotzalco, Mexico, Winter 1989); Flynn, Sacred Charity; Adriaan C. van Oss, Catholic Colonialism: A Parish History of Guatemala, 1524-1821 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Taylor, Magistrates of the Sacred, especially ch. 10, 11, 12.

10. Michael V. Gannon, Rebel Bishop: The Life and Era of Augustin Verot (Milwaukee, 1964), 235; Wilbur H. Siebert, "Some Church History of St. Augustine during the Spanish Regime," Florida Historical Quarterly, 9 (1930): 117-123; Statement of Governor Antonio de Benavides, St. Augustine, 1727 July 15, Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI) Contaduría Bundle (hereafter Bnd.) 961 (microfilm in Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board [HSAPB] collection).

11. Donald Attwater, ed., A Catholic Dictionary 3rd edition (New York: Macmillan 1961), 115; Erwin Iserloh, Joseph Gladzik, Hubert Jedin, Reformation and Counter Reformation. History of the Church, Hubert Jedin and John Dolan, eds, vol. 5 (New York: Seabury Press, 1980), 562; Francisco de la Rocha and Francisco de Cigarroa, Report on the Confraternities, 1685 April 6, AGI SC 54-5-12/18; Michael V. Gannon, The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965), 78; Amy Bushnell, The King's Coffers: Proprietors of the Spanish Florida Treasury, 1565-1702 (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1981), 16.

12. Bazarte Martínez, Las cofradías de españoles, Graff, "Cofradías in the New Kingdom of Granada, 84, 102; Flynn, Sacred Charity, 122.

13. William J. Callahan, "The Problem of Confinement: An Aspect of Poor Relief in Eighteenth-Century Spain," Hispanic American Historical Review, 51 (1971): 1; Governor Diego de Quiroga y Losada to King, 1693 July 17, AGI, John B. Stetson Collection (hereafter SC), P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida (microfilm copies in HSAPB collection 58-1-22/291).

14. Amy Bushnell examined the customary financial requirements on men of position, in Chapter 2 of The King's Coffers; Francisco de la Rocha and Francisco de Cigarroa, Report on the confraternities, 1685 April 6, AGI SC 54-5-12/18.

For example, the danza castellana was performed in Burgos on Corpus Christi to the music of a bagpiper (gaitero) and two tamboriles. A tamboril was a small drum associated with festive occasions in villages. Some were small enough to dangle from the wrist and were beaten with a single small stick. Martín Alonso, Enciclopedia del idioma (Madrid: Aguilar, 1958) 2:1388, 3:3882.

15. Francisco de la Rocha and Francisco de Cigarroa, Report on the confraternities, 1685 April 6, SC AGI 54-5-12/18; Bazarte Martínez, Las cofradías de españoles, 81; Juan José Solana to Julián de Arriaga, 1760 April 9, AGI SC 86-7-21/41; Alonso, Enciclopedia del idioma, 3: 2947.
16. Francisco de la Rocha and Francisco de Cigarroa, Report on the Confraternities, 1685 April 6, AGI SC 54-5-12/18.
17. Luis Rafael Arana, "The Private Soldier in Florida, 1672-1763," November 7, 1975, Ms. on file at Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine; Luis R. Arana, "The Spanish Infantry: The Queen of Battles in Florida, 1761-1702," (M. A. Thesis, University of Florida, 1960; Francisco de la Rocha and Francisco de Cigarroa to King, 1685 April 30, AGI SC 54-5-12/18.
18. Francisco de la Rocha and Francisco de Cigarroa to King, 1685 April 30, AGI SC 54-5-12/18; Arana, "The Spanish Infantry," 106; Juan José Solana to Julián de Arriaga, 1760 April 9, AGI SC 86-7-21/41.
19. John Hann, A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 160-61.
20. Francisco de la Rocha and Francisco de Cigarroa, Report on the Confraternities, 1685 April 6, AGI SC 54-5-12/18; Bushnell, Situado and Sabana, 120-21; Juan José Eligio de la Puente map and Pablo Castelló map.
21. Will of Fernando Rodríguez, 1762 July 27, in Claim of Antonia de Averó, Town Lots Claim no. 19, Spanish Land Grants (hereafter SLG), Division of Historical Resources, Tallahassee, Florida.
22. Russell-Wood, "Power, Prestige and Piety," 67, Probate of Estate of Diego de Espinosa, 1756; and Probate of Estate of Domingo Escalona, 1755, both in Bundle 301P4, East Florida Papers (hereafter EFP), Library of Congress Manuscript Division (microfilm copies at St. Augustine Historical Society).
23. Russell-Wood, "Prestige, Power and Piety," 64-65; Juan José Solana to Julián de Arriaga, Report on the condition of St. Augustine, 1760 April 9, AGI SC 86-7-21/41; Burials, Cathedral Parish Records (hereafter CPR), Diocese of St. Augustine, Mandarin, Florida (microfilm copies at St. Augustine Historical Society).
24. Russell-Wood, "Prestige, Power and Piety," 64-65; White Burials, CPR; Will of Francisco Menéndez Marqués, 1742 September 2, SC AGI 58-1-13/73.
25. Russell-Wood, "Prestige, Power and Piety," 78-79.

26. Flynn, Sacred Charity, 43; Russell-Wood, "Prestige, Power, and Piety," 80-81; Discharge of Church Mayordomo and Visit to Cofradia and Brotherhood of the Most Holy True Cross, St. Augustine, Archivo General de Indias, Escribanía de Cámara 154-A, 377-80 (microfilm copies at Center for Historic Research, Flagler College, St. Augustine).

27. Bazarte Martínez, Las cofradías de españoles, 75; Will of Gerónima Rodríguez and Francisco Navarro, St. Augustine, 1737 February 4 and receipts dated 1738 July, Bnd. 359, Claim for parcel no. 80; Estate of Joaquín Escalona, Bundle 301P4, EFP.

28. Burials of Francisco Romo de Uriza, 1720 December 2; of Joseph Sanchez de Uriza, 1720 December 25; of Francisca Rexidor, 1721 Jan __, CPR. A ducat, was a gold coin worth 11 reales; a peso equaled 8 reales; a real was worth 34 maravedís, the latter being the smallest unit of Spanish account currency.

29. Examples of the kinds of information included in the expanded burial records were: that during the summer of 1736 Pedro de Castro was "buried with alms" because of his poverty; that two days later Francisco Zaragosa, "whom the enemies killed at the battery of Pupo [on the St. Johns River]" was buried. Auto of Visit of Bishop Francisco de San Buenaventura, 1735; burial of Pedro de Castro, 1736 June 2; burial of Francisco Zaragosa, 1736 June 2, CPR.

30. Will of Gerónima Rodríguez and Francisco Navarro, St. Augustine, 1737 February 4, Bundle 359, Claim for parcel no. 80, EFP; Will of Francisco Menéndez Marqués, St. Augustine, 1742 September 2, AGI 58-1-34/73; Will of Joseph Guillén, St. Augustine, 1743 December 17, in Claim of Antonia de Avero, Bnd. 320 Claim no. 19, City Lots: St. Augustine, SLG.

31. The irony of reality is that Florida's Spanish population began evacuating about a year after Rodríguez's death and his careful arrangements probably never materialized, but the sergeant's will which serves as an example of testamentary practices and the provisions for Florida's lay religious organizations. The pay scale is based on Don José Antonio Gelabert to the Crown, General list of all who serve and are paid by the king at the presidio of San Agustín, 1752, Havana, AGI SC 87-1-14/2.

32. Van Oss, Catholic Colonialism; Report on Progress of Parish Church, 1794 February 2, Bnd. 10018, EFP.

33. Russell-Wood, "Prestige, Power and Piety," 78; Graff, "Cofradías in the New Kingdom of Granada," 84, 177.

34. Salvador de Cigarroa, List of Items Secured in Mexico, 1669 January 24, included in correspondence of Marqués de Mancera, 1669 April 20, AGI SC 58-2-2/14; "Inventory of the Ornaments, Altars, Images, Bell, and Sacred Vessels belonging to the Parochial Church and the Religious Brotherhoods of the Garrison Town of St. Augustine, Florida," 1764 November 5, AGI, Cuba 372, Wilbur Henry Siebert, trans. (typescript in Spanish and English at St. Augustine Historical Society); Charles Coulston Gillispie, ed., Diderot's Pictorial Encyclopedia of Trades and Industry (New York: Dover, 1959), II: plate 447.
35. Salvador de Cigarroa, List of Items Secured in Mexico, 1669 January 24, included in correspondence of Marqués de Mancera, 1669 April 20, AGI SC 58-2-2/14; "Inventory of the Ornaments, Altars, Images, Bell, and Sacred Vessels belonging to the Parochial Church and the Religious Brotherhoods of the Garrison Town of St. Augustine, Florida," 1764 November 5, AGI Cuba 372, Wilbur Henry Siebert, trans. (typescript in Spanish and English at St. Augustine Historical Society; Statement of Governor Antonio de Benavides, St. Augustine, 1727 July 15, AGI Contaduría 961 (microfilm copy in HSAPB collection).
36. Burials, CPR; Graff, "Cofradías in the New Kingdom of Granada," 150-52, 170; Flynn, Sacred Charity, 133.
37. Luis Rafael Arana and Albert Manucy, The Building of Castillo de San Marcos (Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1977), 12-13; Salvador de Cigarroa, List of Items Secured in Mexico, 1669 January 234, included in correspondence of Marqués de Mancera, 1669 April 20, AGI SC 58-2-2/14.
38. Charles W. Arnade, The Siege of St. Augustine of 1702 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1959), 24; Gannon, Cross in the Sand, quote on 76; Bushnell, Situado and Sabana, 208-10.
39. Bishop of Tricale, "Report on Confraternities, 1736 April 29, AGI 58-2-14/7; Governor Manuel de Montiano to King, 1738 June 20 included with correspondence of 1738 December 12, AGI 58-2-14/131 and 1740 August 10, AGI 58-1-21/11; Royal Order given at Aranjuez, 1738 May 12, AGI 58-1-25/61, all in SC.
40. Taylor, Magistrates of the Sacred, 304-07; Ascunción Lavrin compares the economies of rural and urban confraternities in eighteenth century Mexico. "Diversity and Disparity: Rural and Urban Confraternities in Eighteenth Century Mexico," in Meyers and Hopkins, eds., Manipulating the Saints, 67-100.

41. Eligio de la Puente map; Castelló map; Mariano de la Rocque, Plano particular de la Ciudad de Sn. Agustín de la Florida (map of the City of St. Augustine, Florida), 1788 April 25, East Florida Papers; Governor Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez to crown, Appraisal of Burned Buildings, 1709 August 23, SC AGI 58-1-28/66. De la Rocque's map provides the information on the rooms and their size. Examination of sequential maps of St. Augustine indicate the persistence of the buildings' location and size over several decades.
42. Archaeological site reports for SA 3-30 (230 Charlotte St.) and SA 24 (14 Marine St.), HSAPB collection; Charles Tingley, "The Cofradia Medal," SAAAings (St. Augustine Archaeological Association newsletter), 5 (Sept. 1990): 1-2.
43. Eligio de la Puente map; George M. Foster, "Cofradía and Compradazgo in Spain and Spanish America," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 9 (1953): 14.
44. Will of Fernando Rodríguez, 1762 July 27, in Claim of Antonia de Averó, Town Lots Claim no. 19, SLG.
45. The Sisters of St. Joseph did not arrive in Florida until 1866. Gannon, Cross in the Sand, 76, 182; Joan Koch, "Mortuary Behavior Patterning and Physical Anthropology in Colonial St. Augustine," in Kathleen A. Deagan, ed., Spanish St. Augustine: The Archaeology of a Colonial Creole Community (New York: Academic Press, 1983) 147-81.
46. Juan Márques Cabrera to crown, 1682 May 5, included in transmittal of 1685 April 30, AGI SC 54-5-15/17.
47. Captain Martín de la Vera as proxy for majordomo of royal hospital of St. Augustine, 1685 March 7; Royals Officials to crown, March 8, 1685; included in transmittal of 1685 April 30, AGI SC 54-5-15/17.
48. Mortgage by Roque Leonardy, 1790 January 8, Bnd. 368, p. 22; Juan Sánchez; 1790 July 20, Bnd. 368, p. 247; Index to City [St. Augustine] Lots, Bnd. 409, EFP. See John Jay Tepaske, The Governorship of spanish Florida, 1700-1763 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1964), 177-192, for a description of the in-fighting between the Franciscans and the governors' roles.
49. Will of Don Miguel O'Reilly, 1803 March 1, Bnd. 374, pp. 43-48, EFP. William Taylor suggests that it was not so much the direct influence of Enlightenment thought that brought about these changes, but that it was the administrative changes effected by the Bourbons, which they based on Enlightenment thought. Magistrates of the Sacred, 451.

CHAPTER 10 CONCLUSIONS

He who holds lands has war on his hands.
(Quien tiene tierra, tiene guerra)
—Spanish proverb

The second century of European settlement in the southeast marked a new path for the inhabitants of the region. Following permanent settlements by the English (1670) and the French (1699) in the southeast, the persistent potential for attacks among rivals kept settlements of all empires in a state of alert and anxiety. Both England and France trespassed into Spanish territory from the Spanish point of view, and their acquisition of lands could only come at Spain's expense. Spain's defensive solutions, devised in order to hold its position in the region, brought about changes in the quotidian lives of the colonists, as they also had far-reaching international consequences. In Florida the royal policies meant the coming of new men as soldiers in the colony and the introduction of more money in the colony for fortifications.

The presence of a cash-based, service economy in Florida generated attitudes and practices which were quite different from the agricultural economies of other mainland colonies. It was not just Florida's Spanish traditions and practices that made the colony so different from the British

American mainland colonies, but also the basis of its economy and the practices which such an economy both engendered and required. The arrival of recruits from Iberia brought about de-creolization or at least diverted the path of creolization. As maritime activity increased both in size and influence with the growth of manufactures and trade, Spanish Florida experienced atlantiquization and de-creolization at the same time. Previous studies looked to assess the character and process of creolization and describe its development and characteristics. Little notice was paid to distinctiveness among metropolitan cultures or to the immigration of new Iberians and the different traditions imparted by the arriving peninsulares at different periods. With increased military defense activity, creolization was disrupted. Continued deliveries of new Iberians maintained the hegemony of things Iberian.

The Spanish monarchy and its ministers made decisions in reaction to threats to sovereignty throughout the Caribbean, which included Florida. Responsive measures had already been decreed and the strengthening of fortifications in the southeast was already in motion when English Barbadians established their settlement at Charles Town.¹

The necessity to defend against English expansion brought new people into the society of Spanish Florida. To fulfil manpower needs of defense activities, Spanish practices had to adapt to the realities in the region. Some persons literally arrived from far away, such as the soldiers from Spain. Others, Native Americans, had been in the region all along and had interacted

with the Spanish colonists for many years. After the establishment of South Carolina, Spanish officials curried favor among the Native groups to keep them out of the enlarging orbit of Carolina. Spanish-allied Natives—Timucua, Apalachee, and even Yamassees previously allied with the English—retreated ever nearer and finally to the capital. Thereafter, the value of their services and their proximity kept the Natives in intimate contact with Spanish society. Africans, too, became a larger, more important and more integrated group in Florida. The Spanish welcomed fugitive slaves from Carolina, simultaneously strengthening Spanish forces and depleting English resources.²

In Spanish Florida, the influx of new men to be soldiers diminished the role and opportunities for creoles and introduced different Iberian regional traditions to supplant the creolized Asturian ways, transferred at founding. Residents of the colony had to provide resources that immigrating men could not. One such solution was the supplying of homesites by the families of brides for new family units formed at marriage. Whether this was an adaptive strategy after the influx of new men began in the 1680s and continued until the evacuation or whether it was merely a perpetuation of already existing practices cannot be discerned in the current absence of land records. Merely its existence can be recognized. The men arriving from Andalusia, where there was a tradition of a strong role of women in the control of the household, might have felt quite comfortable with the preferential role for women in the transference of residential property. In the military economy of Florida the

locus for producing income or subsistence and the site of the residence were not one and the same. In an agricultural economy, however, one site served both functions. In this context, female property perquisites did not place the women in a position to control so much of the household assets and economy as would a similar arrangement in an agricultural context. Perhaps the urban sites inhabited by employees of the military and their families displayed this female favoritism while non-military and agricultural properties exhibited a pattern of male succession. But evidence about properties outside the town is even more scanty than for city sites. Francisco Menéndez Marquéz in 1742 still retained title literally to his forefathers' lands of La Chua. Ownership had not passed to grandmothers, aunts or sisters, and in his will he specifically stated that he was giving information about the estate for the benefit of "my brother and his heirs."³

The persons entering the dominant society included non-whites as well. More opportunities and possibilities existed for Native Americans than for Africans. The prohibition of enslaving Natives dictated that they would hold a more preferred position in society than Africans, whose characteristics still made them subject to endless bondage and ownership of their person. Adaptive and enterprising mission Indians moved themselves and their families rapidly into Spanish society through membership in or employment with the military. The military salary enabled the recently assimilated Natives access to and acquisition of the same goods purchased by the Hispanic colonists.

Widows and orphans of Indian soldiers and loyal defenders were entitled to pensions like the dependents of Hispanics. While acceptance on the part of the Hispanics of the newcomer Indians might well have been less than complete and heartfelt, Spaniards did involve the acculturated, assimilated military Indian families into their personal lives. The arrivals who came into St. Augustine from Andalusia in southern Spain might have been more accustomed to relationships in Iberia with other ethnic or racial groups than were the original settlers from Asturias. Andalusians had interacted with Moors longer than the rest of the Iberian peninsula. Andalusia's proximity to Africa and location on the Mediterranean exposed Andalusians to many racial and cultural groups who transited the area. On the other hand, Asturias had prided itself as being the seat of the Reconquest and the region of racial purity rather than miscegenation. The inclusion of the non-whites into institutions and official organizations rested upon the support or at least assent of the crown and officialdom. Perhaps the Andalusian attitude helped to make the incorporation and participation of Natives and Africans as successful as it was in the official areas, limiting prejudicial balking and tensions. In the personal arena, such interaction was indeed volitional, yet it was evidenced there as well.

While the Spanish authorities adapted flexible measures to include persons of several cultural and racial groups, the requirement to be a Catholic Christian, at least nominally, never became negotiable. Stephen Innes has

described the role of Puritan religion in affirming and encouraging capitalistic attitudes in the economic culture of New England.⁴ In Spanish Florida, religion was the sine qua non for participation in the dominant society. Urbanized Native Americans jealously proclaimed their identification with the supposedly self-supporting parish church rather than with a mission church, for their place in society depended upon their place within the parish structure.

Strong institutional forces fashioned the lives of Florida's residents. The ubiquitous presence of church and state in both tangible and intangible forms and the intertwining of those institutions were a major force. Florida colonists could not conceive of the idea of the separation of church and state. The confraternities in St. Augustine served to maintain religious conformity through an organization composed of laypersons who performed charitable acts and who provided goods and services for the liturgy, devotions and religious festivals. Many studies have examined the institution of the Roman Catholic Church in Spanish Florida, but they have seldom considered the activities of the laity other than their attendance at mass. It was through the confraternities that Florida's colonists felt a bond with other residents and worshippers throughout Spanish America—indeed throughout the Spanish world and even the Catholic world.

Confraternities provided opportunities for citizens to experience a decision-making or leadership role which might not be available in the military milieu. It was a situation where someone who was usually in a subordinate

position could outrank and issue directives to those of higher military rank. Confraternities provided a stabilizing influence in the colonies and perhaps a venue for diffusing rank-based tensions.

While creolization was disrupted or at least diverted in Florida by Iberian immigration, atlantiquization was well under way during the Second Century. The material world was expanding and growing. The desire for more and better goods bound peoples together although they probably did not realize the common bond. For the Native Americans of the southeast, the goods that at first bonded them to Europeans came to bind the Natives tightly. Through the realm of trade and the quest for manufactured items, the citizenry of Florida became materially incorporated into and affiliated with the Atlantic world and the Atlantic economy. At the same time, Spanish Florida was also part of the multinational Atlantic world of goods and ideas. In the eighteenth century that meant that Florida was an element of a large portion of the globe where there was a growing universe of manmade goods to acquire. The potential for profit with the enlarged acquisitiveness encouraged a perspective that economic borders could be permeable for the passage of goods while still holding fast to the precepts of rigid territorial demarcations.

Commercial interests in colonial Florida exhibited the characteristics of the Atlantic world of trade. Partnerships were an important mechanism for combining enough capital to enter the world of trade or to offset cash requirements with in-kind contributions so that cash could be channeled into

goods. Credit through personal and very often kinship ties permitted the launching of new enterprises. Retailers who sold goods in Florida transported the goods to the colony with a promise to pay their suppliers as the goods themselves were sold. If barter of goods took place at the point of purchase, the payment would need to be an item that could readily command cash.

Florida residents set forth their debts in detail, with not even a maravedi overlooked, and gave instructions for the collection of the debt even after the death of the original creditor. Creditors kept promissory documents and account books in substantial chests. Marginal notations on documents indicated satisfaction of payment obligations. If cash did not always literally change hands, cash units were the basis for accounting for obligations.

The recitation of possessions showcased the goods which proclaimed the place of the individual within the society and those items which were expensive. Horses, slaves and cattle were valued throughout mainland America; Spanish Florida was no exception. Horses and slaves provided necessary labor and the livestock truly sacrificed for the benefit of the owner. All three were symbols of wealth and achievement throughout the New World. Allan Kulikoff found that in the Chesapeake from 1720 to 1775 the value of slaves far surpassed that of land.⁵

Florida colonists also valued items which conveyed traditional messages and manufactured goods which offered comforts and release from tedious tasks. Writing desks continued to hold a prominent place in the public

projection of propriety in Florida. All sorts of metal and glass ornaments and tools reflected the level of integration of individuals into the enlarging material. Window glass was both a comfort and a status statement.

All members of Florida's society wanted to own, use and display manufactured cloth. Cloth arrived to be made into vestments worn by altar boys and into banners for the altar and religious processions, to be made into clothes for slaves, to be made into fancy garb for governors. Sgt. Fernando Rodríguez demonstrated the importance of dry goods when he distributed his "colored" and white clothing to godsons. The availability of lengths of colorful fabric determined whether relations with the Native Americans were congenial or contentious.

Architecture and the use of space in buildings and on urban lots reflected the changing cultural donation from Iberia. The role of the growing number and increased availability of goods in Atlantic-world Florida is seen in both the assignment of building spaces for solely commercial purposes and the incorporation of manufactured goods as improvements or enhancements to the buildings themselves.

Florida's urban structures exhibited the ideas brought by men arriving from the arid areas of central and southern Spain. For almost a century the tradition of the Iberian cultural hearths were re-charged by new recruits sent to Florida. Traditions transported to Florida in the minds of soldiers from southern Spain as much as fear of another torching by the enemy influenced the style

and construction of the structures which re-built the town after 1702.

Residential and commercial uses appeared in the same buildings with some sites composed of several sets of buildings.

With his mind on the founding years in the sixteenth century, Albert Manucy recognized the role of Iberian regional traditions in the development of lifeways in Florida when he wrote that

the nature of the housing and organization of space used by colonists in a new and strange environment was influenced both by the familiar traditions of their native provinces and by the demands of the new settings.⁶

His words work as well for the arrivals in the second century of settlement.

They brought traditions that molded all aspects of Florida colonial life.

Donna Ruhl and Kathleen Hoffman have sent out the call for clarification of "the middle period" in colonial society.⁷ The concept of the second century of settlement in the southeast fits into the search for points to establish periodization. The heightened belligerence, the new Spanish men and the new speedy incorporation of non-white residents begins with Spanish resistance to the first incursion by the English in 1670. Efforts to contain the English delineate the end of the middle period and the start of its successor. The successor period features the phasing out of the inwardly-turned creole or American focus and the turning outward toward different Iberian modes and the desire for acquisition of goods. The second century was a time when Florida saw creolization truncated by the injection of different peninsular elements. In

the southeast the exigencies of the threats to Spanish sovereignty were overt and the existence of its colony in the southeast allowed the Spanish crown to respond with directness and speed. England and France challenged Spanish claims to territory. With the efforts to maintain Spanish territorial integrity, Florida experienced a re-orientation toward the metropolis and resurgence of metropolitan ways before other areas and a quick incorporation of non-whites into society. For example, the crown's efforts to take back power in Peru that had been lost to creole officeholders came much later, beginning in 1750, than the Iberians' usurping of military positions filled by default by creoles in Florida in the seventeenth century. In the case of Peru, the crown had to wait to replace sitting administrators; in the case of Florida, changes in procedures could be implemented more directly and quickly. Likewise, the use of non-white troops with the accompanying affirmation of the fighting men's place in the non-military parts of society appeared in Florida before it did in many others parts of Spanish America. Elsewhere, as in Mexico and Cuba, the inclusion and reliance upon non-whites came in response to defeats during the Seven Years War. In fact, it was the penalties paid by Spain for defeat in the Seven Years War that abruptly eliminated from Florida the practices and methods which had developed during almost a century of English warmongering.

Epilogue

In 1763 Spain's long tenure in Florida ended, not on the battlefield but on the negotiation table in Paris at the close of the Seven Years War. Florida's transfer seemed unrelated to events within Florida. The historian cannot develop a presentation or thesis which neatly builds toward crisis or climax and then proceeds to denouement. In fact, from the Florida perspective, the loss of Florida was a non-event; no local crisis or climax preceded the transfer. Spanish occupation resembles a road that crosses the temporal terrain only to end abruptly at some manmade gulch. The break in the historical road seems to make no sense. There were no signs that the path would end. From the perspective of the colony's residents, the disappearance of Spanish rule and residents from Florida was unrelated to what took place in the colony. That was indeed the case, for at the end of the Seven Years War, Florida was deemed expendable in the context of the well-being of the empire as a whole. The Florida territory became British; Spanish Florida residents became evacuees and refugees. Spanish Florida colonists paid a high price for what must have seemed to them ill-advised decisions that had been made an ocean away.

Notes

1. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America (Athens; University of Georgia Press, 1971), 52-56; Luis Rafael Arana and Albert Manucy, The Building of Castillo de San Marcos (n.p.: Eastern National Park & Monument Association, 1977), 12-15.
2. Jane Landers, Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de More: A Free Black Town in Spanish Colonial Florida." American Historical Review, 95 (1990): 9-30; idem. "Traditions of African American Freedom and Community in Colonial Spanish Florida." in David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers, eds., The African American Heritage of Florida (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995) 19-41.
3. Will of Francisco Menéndez Marquéz, 1742 September 2, AGI SC 58-1-34/73.
4. Stephen Innes, Creating the Commonwealth: The Economic Culture of Puritan New England (New York: W. W. Norton, 1995).
5. Allan Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 133.
6. Albert Manucy, Sixteenth-Century St. Augustine: The People and Their Homes (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 123.
7. Donna L. Ruhl and Kathleen Hoffman, eds. Diversity and Social Identity in Colonial Spanish America: Native American African, and Hispanic Communities During the Middle Period. Historical Archaeology 31, 1 (1997).

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

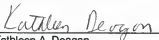
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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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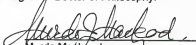
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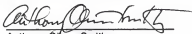
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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of History in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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